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Historiae Augustae Scriptores

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE HISTORIA AUGUSTA

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The Manuscript Tradition of the Historia Augusta.

The recent announcement of a new critical edition of the Scriptores Historiae Augustae[1], shortly to be forthcoming from the publishing house of Teubner in Leipzig, has turned the attention of scholars anew to the much disputed questions concerning the manuscript tradition on which this important collection rests. An article on this subject was however planned some years previous to this announcement by the present writer, in fulfillment of a promise made in a note which appeared in Classical Philology, vol. III (1908), p. 273 ff., after a prolonged study of the twenty odd MSS. of the Historia Augusta, which are preserved in the libraries of Rome, Florence, Milan and Paris. Unfortunately absorption in other tasks interferred with the prompt publication of the results of this study, until the present time, when my colleague in the preparation of the new edition, Dr. E. Hohl, after a sojourn of several months in Italy spent in similar study, has, by the recent publication of his results (in Klio, vol. XIII, pp. 258 ff. and 387 ff.), rendered the presentation of a considerable part of my own report unnecessary. But, though much of his carefully presented material is identical with that which I myself collected, there are certain matters in which I have been led to different conclusions from his. It is therefore necessary for me to open up the question of the unity of the tradition afresh, but I shall avoid repetition as far as possible, and confine myself to the discussion of those aspects of the matter only which are indispensable to the demonstration of my views, with the hope that this collaboration may be effective in solving correctly the whole problem of the tradition, before the appearance of the new edition.

Ever since Mommsen successfully established the value of the Palatine codex of this collection as the earliest representative of the text[2],

[1] Formally made by the editor-in-chief, E. Kornemann, in Gercke and Norden's 'Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft', Leipzig 1912, III, p. 249. The present writer has the honor of collaborating in the preparation of the first volume.

[2] For the history of the controversy in which this question was finally settled, see Hohl, l. c. p. 259.

and after Dessau, confirming this conclusion by more complete evidence[1], stated also his belief that all the rest of the exstant MSS. are more or less directly derived from P, scholars who have occupied themselves with the criticism of the text, have generally accepted the authority of this codex, and in the more recent publications, it alone is cited. If we are to accept Hohl's claim of having discovered in Peters' Σ family a tradition independent of P, they have gone too far in this.[2] It is at once clear that the settlement of this question cannot be reached except on the basis of a thorough acquaintance with our oldest extant representative of the text. In my own study of the MSS. which I have been able to examine[3], it was early apparent that not only a completely

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 261. In the year 1892—3, Dessau made a new collation of P throughout its entire length, comparing it also in important places with B, which was sent to the Vatican for his use. This codex was, by the courtesy of the German government, again despatched thither for my use in the year 1903—4, when I made a complete collation of both P and B throughout, during the course of which I collected a great amount of evidence confirmatory of that offered by Dessau. Both of these collations are being used by the editors of the new edition, and Dessau's has already frequently been cited in the 'Scriptorum Historiae Augustae Lexicon' of C. Lessing (Leipzig, 1901—6.).

[2] See Hohl, p. 409.

[3] These include, besides the ones examined by Peter, two Paris MSS., nos. 5816 and 5817, the first of which became of so much interest when De Nolhac (see further below) identified it as Petrarch's own exemplar, copied for him from P. My collation of it entire, made in the spring of 1906, has been put at the disposition of my fellow editors, and the conclusions, inevitably resulting therefrom, for its place in the history of the manuscript tradition, have mainly been given by Hohl, l. c. p. 263 ff. I shall have a little more to add to this below. The MS. in the collection of the Chigi family in Rome I was not permitted to see, but Hohl, who was more fortunate in this respect, shows it to be of no special interest, since it groups with a class whose position is assured by other members already known (see Hohl, p. 367—8). I was also prevented from consulting the codex formerly in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, now (or at least as late as the summer of 1906) in the possession of Mr. Fitzroy Fenwick of Cheltenham, England. But, when I learned by consultation of the catalogue of Sir Thomas Phillipps, of which a copy is accessible in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, that Peter's ascription of it to the 14th. century is incorrect, it being listed there as of the 15th. century, I had little hope of its being of any especial value, as is true of other codices in English possession, on which Hohl reports, pp. 283 and 316. They simply group, as do Paris. 5817 and the Chisianus, with classes of late MSS., other members of which are more important. I, like Hohl, could get no trace of the MS. formerly in the Bibliotheca Angelicana in Rome, nor of a codex reported formerly as being in the library of the Basilica of St. Peter's. The Naples MS., examined for me by a fellow-student of the American School in Rome, Mr. Dean P. Lockwood, proved to be a collection of rather long excerpts from some exemplar of the interpolated group (so also Hohl, p. 395). With the exception of Paris. 5816, no MS. of importance has been added to those with which Peter was acquainted.

accurate exposition of the original condition of P itself is urgently needed, but also that a correct identification of the several correctors whose hands appear on its pages, and a complete determination of the extent of their successive contributions, is indispensable to a correct understanding of the relation of the younger MSS. to the main tradition. Dessau, in a private communication to the editor-in-chief of the new edition, has minimized the importance of reporting the details of P's correctors, but I am more than ever convinced, since my perusal of Hohl's article, that, until a complete and correct exposition of P's correctors has been made, we cannot hope to arrive at a true understanding of the manuscript tradition. And this shall be my first task, for the very maintenance of P's long held position as the only independent representative of the text is at stake.

The last edition[1] fails entirely to meet these needs, not only because of an imperfect understanding on the part of its editor of the number and successive chronology of P's correctors, and to a defective method of reporting their work, but also because it contains many errors in its exposition of the actual readings of both scribe and correctors.[2] For while only three correctors are recognized in P, with certain vague references to a 'manus recentior', in reality six hands appear there—after the first or technical corrector — which may be clearly distinguished. Necessarily when the work of six correctors is distributed among only three, there is bound to result great inaccuracy in individual attributions and entire failure to make the correct estimate of their worth and actual chronological position.[3] Dessau contributed little to

[1] H. Peter, Leipzig, 1st ed. 1865, 2nd ed. 1884. This edition, as well as that of Jordan and Eyssenhardt (Berlin, 1864), was made on the basis of the belief that the two oldest MSS., the codex Palatinus and the codex Bambergensis, represent two independent and equally valuable traditions from a common archetype now lost, though B, believed to be the older, was given the preference by Peter; he did not however have the courage to follow it where it differed from the vulgate readings.

[2] Errors in matters of orthography are especially conspicuous, and have already been misleading; e. g. Lessing, following Peter (the ed. Ber. reports correctly) gives two lines of valuable space in the Lexicon to reporting a form *voluptuarius* in V, 2, 9, as the only instance of the word spelled with *u*. In point of fact the MSS. all have *uoluptarius*, and there exists no form in *u* in the tradition of the S. H. A. This falsely reported form is also given in Harper's Latin Dictionary as one of three examples of the spelling with *u*; there are then only two actual representatives. For other instances of wasted effort, see my note in Class. Phil. referred to above.

[3] But an even more serious defect in the last editor's report, which of itself would be sufficient to blind him to the correct relation between P and B, lies in his failure to distinguish in his apparatus the technical corrector in each MS.

this matter beyond a more exact definition of the work of the technical revisor, as distinguished from the independent correctors, his main purpose being the establishment of the correct position of B as merely an early copy of P. He distinguished two different hands working with the reconstruction of the correct order of the disarranged portions of P's text; and, for the sake of establishing P as the parent of the minor MSS., he pointed to its probable sojourn in Italy as evidenced in its ownership by Manetti, and, possibly, by two earlier humanists, Petrarch and Coluccio. He did not however attempt to settle this question in the case of either of the last two. And recently Hohl, while doing excellent work in establishing the correct relation of certain of the younger MSS. in their dependence on P, has evidently not made the close study of P's various correctors, which would have furnished the necessary basis for the correct understanding of the position of certain others, notably the members of Peter's Σ family, and, incidentally and involved with them, Vat. 1899.

I shall therefore first devote myself to a detailed description of these correctors, who, considered merely from a palaeographical point of view (I present photographs of the various hands in the attached plates), cover a long period of time, from soon after the transcription of the oldest exstant copy of P, the Bambergensis, nearly down to the time of the first printed edition, and attest to an almost constant use of the codex throughout nearly the whole of this period. And the matter

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from the first independent corrector, as has already been pointed out by both Mommsen and Dessau. That is, Peter used the denomination P^1 to indicate the original writing, not only when a change had been made by the technical corrector, but also when changes had been made by later correctors; and, since the reader is directed to infer in all such cases that the corrector, unless otherwise specified, is P^2, he is left under the impression that P^1 represents the completed MS. in the first instance as well as in the second. When the same ambiguous method was employed in reporting B also, so much uncertainty resulted as to the actual state of the MSS. at their completion, as to render the report almost useless (cf. Dessau p. 399). A practical device for obviating this kind of confusion, suggested first by Mommsen in his report of the trial collation made for him from the Vita Alexandri Severi (Hermes XXV, p. 281ff.) has been adopted by Lessing in his Lexicon. The scribe in his first writing is designated P^a or B^a, and the first or technical corrector P^b or B^b, so that the completed MS., wherever changes are due to this first corrector, is represented by P^b or B^b; but wherever changes have been made by later, independent, correctors, the completed MS. is represented by P^1 and B^1. The denominations P^2, P^3 and so on, are then used in the usual way, throughout the successive correctors. This is the method which will be adopted in this paper in designating the different hands that appear on the pages of P, which now stands as the earliest representative of the tradition.

is incidentally lent an almost romantic interest by the fact that at least four, possibly five, of the famous early humanistic scholars are concerned in the history that may be traced in P of the early attempts to emend this very corrupt and troublesome text. Furthermore in this way certain definite chronological termini may be obtained, which are useful in determining the successive chronology of the younger MSS. For, if Dessau's assumption is correct — and I do not believe that the refutation of it has yet been proved — that all the exstant younger MSS. flow directly or indirectly from P, the chronological basis is obviously the only one on which they can be grouped. I shall therefore take occasion to establish the identification of as many of the correctors as I can, using this as ground from which to approach the question of the rest of the tradition. And since B, reduced to the ranks of the minor MSS., disappears from the critical apparatus[1] (except where its text, transcribed from P before any changes had been made beyond those connected with the first regular revision of the completed manuscript, furnishes the original readings of P, now lost through the erasures of its subsequent correctors), every detail of the actual condition of P is of the greatest importance and should be carefully reported.

The scribe of the Palatine codex wrote in a clear and regular early Caroline minuscle, such as has been recognized in a considerable group of important MSS. as belonging to the 9th rather than to the 11th century, as was formerly supposed.[2] The early date is corroborated by the fact that the division of words is still very imperfect in P—a fertile source of corruption in B. The hand of the text changes conspicuously on f. 210r, third line from the bottom, (see pl. I, no. 9), a fact that has

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[1] „Zu wünschen bleibt es", says Mommsen, (*ibid.*, p. 288), „daß die kritische Grundlage der Kaiserbiographien hiernach (i. e. in accordance with the recognition of B as merely an early copy of P) umgestaltet, d. h. gereinigt und vereinfacht, werde" — cleared, that is, of all complicating and unnecessary report of B. Peter himself in a review of the advance sheets of Lessing's Lexicon, in admitting at last the true value of P, says: „Diese neue Ansicht wird natürlich dem kritischen Apparat ein völlig neues Aussehen geben; der Text wird dadurch eine wesentlich neue Gestalt nicht gewinnen, wie dies auch Lessing ausspricht", the last being due to the fact already mentioned, that Peter, while maintaining the superiority of B, did not adopt its readings even where he claimed for it differences from P. And in point of fact, the actual differences between the completed P and the completed B are limited to a very few cases (cf. Dessau, l. c., p. 394 sq., and my further remarks on B, in appendix II at the end of this paper).

[2] For references to the discussion of the age of these MSS., see Hermes XXIX, p. 397, n. 1. Peter's curious error in calling the ductus of P Anglo-Saxon, as well at that of B, has been corrected by Dessau, ib. p. 397.

not been observed, so far as I know, by any who have hitherto described the codex. Not only is the ductus, from this point on to the end, stiffer and more cramped, angular and upright, but also division of words is even less carefully observed than in the earlier part of the MS.; and the open *a* and early ligatures are of more frequent occurrence, arguing possibly an older scribe, who clung to the practices of his youth. Abbreviations are also much more frequently used.

The main scribe of P seems to have been particularly prone to sins of omission; he frequently dropped out letters or syllables from the interior of words or from an undivided succession of words, and even left out whole words and whole lines. A great many of these omissions were supplied in the regular revision, which seems, to judge by the close similarity of hands, to have been made in this codex by the scribe himself, though the corrections are executed less carefully than the text proper. His method of correction is fairly constant, the omitted part being written above the line, usually with a period preceding it and another period in the line to mark the point of insertion, as illustrated in pl. I, no. 1 by the added word *diem*. The ink used in these additions is of the red-brown color which is typical of early Caroline MSS, and which, though it appears in the text of P in all shades from deep brownish black to tawny yellow, is always readily distinguishable by its reddish tone from the inks of the correctors of the mediaeval period, which have a greenish cast. Many of these changes by P^b are left unreported in the critical apparatus of the last edition, probably having escaped notice because of the likeness of the hand to P^a, though local differences in style and ink generally suffice to distinguish corrections made in the process of copying from those made in the revision. For an understanding of the true relation of B to P, the careful reporting of all of them was necessary, though the matter is much less important now that the dependence of B is settled, except that these corrections should be carefully distinguished from the work of a very early independent corrector, whom I shall call P^2, and who likewise wrote in a Caroline minuscle, of somewhat later style than that of P, and used a similar red-brown ink. It must however be clearly understood that my use of the denomination P^2 is by no means identical with Peter's, who ascribed to his second corrector a large part of the changes and additions in the text throughout the codex. Wherever in his notes a reading is reported as by P^1, it is to be inferred, according to directions given in Praef. p. XXXIII, that the change is by P^2, a corrector whom he describes in Praef. p. VII as "altera manus, quae

propter atramentum minus fuscum facile a prima dignoscitur, inspecto codice aliquo haud contemnendo, qui etiam antiquior archetypo fuisse uidetur, errores aliquot correxit, ut magni sit momenti ad genuina scriptorum uerba constituenda". No date is assigned to this corrector, but as P^3 is said to be "manus saeculi tertii decimi uel quarti decimi", he should be at least earlier than that. But many of the changes ascribed in this way by implication to P^2 are actually by a corrector of the 14th century, and many others are even by P^b. The latter are therefore part of the finished MS., though this fact is entirely obscured by Peter, since he attributed the original writing of P^a to P^1. And there are also changes, ascribed expressly to P^2, which are really by P^b,[1] and still others that are by P^3.[2] Furthermore the examples which are cited in a foot-note to Praef. VII to illustrate the value of the work of P^2, are not really by the earliest independent corrector, but by the second, a writer of the 14th century, whom I shall denominate P^3. I shall point out later how the work of hands actually even later than this, has been ascribed by Peter to P^2, although they are clearly differentiated palaeopraphically, as may be seen by a glance at my facsimiles. To get rid of the tangle of inconsistencies and errors involved in Peter's denominations, and to rearrange the whole chronology of P's correctors, is the first task to be accomplished. This is no simple matter, and is made possible only by a thorough study of the whole codex; as is shown by the fact that Mommsen's correspondent, who examined only about twenty pages of P, was obliged in a large proportion of cases to ascribe the changes he found there to P^{em}, that is, to an uncertain origin. And it is clear that even Hohl has not fully understood them, as is not to be wondered at, considering the great amount of work he accomplished in the time at his disposal.

In the work of the first real corrector, whom I shall call P^2, we have a small body of emendation, which antedates by four centuries the work of correctors of the early humanistic period, and is of especial interest as an instance of the critical activity of so early a time. It is

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[1] Such are I, 59, 4 *puerorum*; 68, 11 *non uotis*; 75, 14 *arpocrationem*; 76, 24 *proconsulatus*; 82, 17 *redierat*; 99, 3 *lenonum*; II, 149, 28 *proemiis*; 219, 5 *refugerunt*. The references throughout are to Peter's edition, by chapter and section of the individual biographies (for which the abbreviations adopted by Lessing in his Lexicon are used), except where a closer reference to page and line will be more convenient for the reader.

[2] E. g. I, 8, 7 *duplicem*; 12, 1 *transiit*; 18, 15 *eos*; 38, 12 *statuas*; II, 213, 9 *germanie*; 20, *itinere*; 221, 23 *purpuratos*; 242, 24 *Mediolanensibus*.

possible that more than one person had a hand in this first recension, for there is considerable variation in individual style in the writing, and two kinds of ink were used. Yet this whole body of emendation can without hesitation be assigned to a time as early as the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century. For the frequent occurrence of the open *a*, the wide-spread upper curve of *s* and *f*, and the clubbing of the long strokes of *b*, *l* and *d*, together with imperfect division of words in certain marginal notes, all indicate a fairly early example of the Caroline minuscle. It is true that these changes were not yet in P at the time when B was transcribed from it, for none of them appear in the copy. But this circumstance forms no obstacle to assigning P^2 to a place early in the 10th century, for B is itself probably not later than the end of the 9th century. A comparison of the Caroline minuscle used by the technical corrector of B (shown in pl. I, no. 6) with the forms of this style used by the scribe of P and by P^2 (in nos. 1 to 4), shows that the three hands are in the chronological order indicated.

The ink used by this hand is for the most part the characteristic thick red-brown ink of the Caroline period, but a dead black ink also appears. The style varies from rather sprawling and inelegant characters, such as appear in a marginal note on f. 69r (see pl. I, no. 3), reading *iste bassianus seueri filius antoninus caracalla dictus est* (with three open *a*'s), to a more compact and erect writing, with a tendency to sharp angles, especially in the loop of the *a*, and in the curve of the *t*, as appears, for example, in the note in the margin of f. 49r (see no. 1), reading *pertinax dimidiatas lactucas et cardos conuiuiis apponebat*, and in another on f. 71v (no. 4) reading *bassianus caracalla iuste occiditur* (with one open *a*). A little less carefully written but in the same style as these last two is the note on f. 101v (see no. 2) reading *Hec istoria incorrecta multa et sollerti emendatione indiget.* In the more rounded style but more compactly written than the note in no. 3, is a marginal note on the right of f. 120r (see pl. II, no. 3): *Hic spero minus.* If the color of the ink varied consistently with these two styles, one would feel justified in distinguishing two correctors; but this is not the case. For while in general the sprawling style and the brown ink concur in the earlier part of the codex (as far as f. 121v), and the erect style and black ink are commoner in the latter part (though the black ink begins as early as f. 89v), the brown ink appears not only in such notes as those of pl. I, no. 3 and pl. II, no. 3, written in the sprawling style, but also in others, such as those of pl. I, nos. 1 and 4, written in the erect style. And no. 2, closer in style to the last two, shows the

brown color of the first two. There is moreover scarcely more difference in style in these two groups of notes than there is between the two transcribers of P. At any rate, no reason exists for believing that there was much, if any, lapse of time between these two correctors, if indeed there were two. And since, at least in the corrections of the text, it is impossible to distinguish two workers of varying excellence, I shall use the denomination P^2 for all this early recension.

The hand of P^2 is indeed of so early a style that, especially when the ink is brown, one does not readily distinguish it from P^b, though individual differences in the forms of certain letters, and a different method of correction, serve to set it apart; when the black ink is used, the distinction is easy[1], though both Eyssenhardt and Peter were deceived in regard to it. The former, for instance, declares the note on f. 49 (pl. I, no. 1) quoted above, to be by the first hand (Hermes I, p. 159), while Peter insists that it is by P^3 (ibid. p. 335). And yet the latter is not consistent, for in his apparatus (I, 123, 21) he attributes the word *cardos* to 'P^2 in marg.', as if it appeared there as a variant, whereas it occurs only in the context of this marginal note. He says further, in refutation of Eyssenhardt, that the first hand wrote no marginal notes, but merely corrections in the text. That is true, but is not a reason for assigning this note, in the face of all palaeographic evidence, to a date as late as that to which he assigns his P^3, namely the 13th—14th century. Likewise a correction in the text at I, 294, 16 by P^2 of *adere* to *euadere*, was assigned by Eyssenhardt to the first hand, but by Peter to his P^3, the latter adding that in B also the letters *eu* were added by a later hand. True again, but they were added by the much later B^3, so that no evidence is furnished for P. Still another correction by the same hand, of *confuderunt to confoderunt*, four lines below, both Eyssenhardt and Peter assign to P^2, though just what they mean by that designation here, is uncertain.

Again Peter says that the note at the beginning of the Vita Alexan-

[1] An excellent place for comparing P^2 and P^b occurs on f. 102r (see pl. I, no. 5), for both have made changes in P^a's undivided and corrupt reading, *ciuiaseuerat* (I, 248, 7). P^b supplies the omitted syllable in his usual way, thus: *ciui*^{li}*aseuerat*, i. e. *ciuilia seuerat*. But P^2, evidently taking the period to mark word-division, adds an *a* to P^b's letters *li* above the line, leaving it thus: *ciui*^{lia}*aseuerat*, i. e. *ciuilia aseuerat*, a reading which appears in nearly all of the minor MSS. P^b's added letters are in red-brown ink, while P^2's *a* is in black ink, and shows the sharp-angled style peculiar to his writing in that color. Peter makes no report at all of these changes, and Mommsen's correspondent fails to understand them, marking them with an interrogation-point.

dri is by the same hand which added to the title of the biography the words *ad Constantinum Augustum*. Surely one glance at the two styles (pl. I, no. 2) will confirm the judgment of Mommsen's correspondent (l. c. p. 282) that the marginal note is by a different and earlier hand than the addition to the title; for the latter is actually by a hand of the end of the 14th century, even later than P^3, as I shall show below. Eyssenhardt gets not much nearer the truth when he ascribes this same marginal note to the corrector who made the suggestions for the rearrangement of the disordered portions of Alexander Severus and the Duo Maximini, whom he considers (and he says Koehler confirms his view) to be a 'monachus saeculo XIV non inferior' (Ed. Berol. Praef. p. VI). The reader can satisfy himself of the inaccuracy of this identification by comparing the marginal note no. 2 on pl. I, which I have cited, with those shown in the margins on pl. II, nos. 1 and 3—6. Just as in a previous case Peter failed to distinguish a hand of the middle of the 14th century from one of at least the end of the 15th, so here he does not appreciate the difference between writing of the 10th and that of the 14th century. And Eyssenhardt, while making the more natural error of mistaking a hand of the 10th century for one of the 9th, in other instances also fails to recognize the great difference between 10th century and 14th century styles. It will now be clear why I reiterate that my P^2 is not identical with that denomination as heretofore used.

The extent and value of the work of this very early corrector for the emendation of the text may be briefly stated. His corrections chiefly concern single letters and rarely extend to whole words; most of the changes are good, and certainly too obvious and easy to have resulted from the consultation of any other codex (cf. Peter, Praef. p. VII) They occur mainly in the earlier half of the collection, appearing first, in the order of the codex, in the Vita Commodi, and are occasional and scattered as far as the Vita Diadumeni, in which there are 10; in Opilius Macrinus there are 17, in Clodius Albinus 13, and in Alexander Severus a great many, at least two or three to the page; of these Peter attributes a good many to P^3.[1] This early corrector also inserted a good deal of correct word-division and punctuation, and at least recognized the fact that there is in P a misplacement of certain portions of the text, as is indicated by the notes on ff. 101^v and 120^r, just cited, and also by another in the margin of f. 110^r, reading *de uita alexandri imperatoris.*

[1] Instances are: I, 248, 1 *asserentes;* 254, 1 and 258, 11 *heliogabalus;* 255, 16 *(august)vs ait;* 262, 24 *cum.*

Furthermore erasures, distinctly visible in the margins of ff. 106^{r}, 120^{r} and 212^{r} (see pl. II, nos. 1 and 3 and pl. III, no. 18) make it highly probable that there too P^{2} wrote notes referring to this matter, which were removed by a later hand. Whether or not this early corrector made any definite suggestions for a reconstruction of order, must remain uncertain. But the position of these erased notes is too significant to preclude the assumption that he did record some observations on this subject. The importance of this circumstance for certain conclusions concerning the relation of some of the minor MSS to P, will be dwelt on more at length later, where the whole question of the order of the disarranged parts is discussed together.

There is also, besides the notes cited, a considerable marginal commentary by P^{2}, consisting in all of 27 notes, of which all but a very few repeat from the text instances of extravagant conduct on the part of the bad emperors, or call attention to them. One or two are concerned with attempts at emendation, similar to those in the text mentioned above; e. g. on f. 89^{v} (I, 215, 17), where P^{1} had *emerat ui*, P^{2} writes in the margin *at memoratui*, following which P^{3} changes in the text to *memoratui* (with an uncial *m*, not *semeratui*, as Peter reports); on f. 114^{v} (I, 279, 9), where P^{1} B^{b} have *p̃scatur* (sic), P^{2} writes in the margin: *si prestatur*, correcting P's *c* to *t*; the confusion between *c* and *t* is very common in MSS of all periods, as everyone knows. This correction is then later made in the text by P^{3}, though Peter fails to record the change. On f. 113^{r} (I, 275, 14) P^{2} calls attention to P's corrupt reading, *adfat* (end of the line) *tamen friga*, by a marginal note—which only makes a bad matter worse—reading *adfatta menfriga semper pura usus*. Here is a double example of the frequent omission of syllables by the scribe of P, one of which P^{3} supplies by adding *im* in the margin (i. e. *adfatim*), while leaving uncorrected the obvious omission in the other, i. e. *frig(id)a*.

The next hand in chronological order that appears on the pages of the Palatine codex is one that is recognized in some instances of its activity by both Eyssenhardt and Peter as of the 13th—14th century, and called by Peter P^{3}.[1] But while a good deal of the work thus ascribed by him belongs to the third corrector, my use of that designation

[1] The Berlin editors, while discussing the correctors of P in their Praefatio (p. VI), and elsewhere, as cited below, attempt to make no distinction among them in their critical apparatus, contenting themselves with indicating the original reading by "P", and the changes of all subsequent hands by "p".

is by no means identical with his. For he has not only attributed to P^3 much of the work of P^2, as shown above, but much of the work of the later correctors also, — and necessarily, since he recognizes only two distinct correctors out of the whole number of six which actually appear in the codex. And on the other hand, a great many of the accepted emendations, which in his notes are either explicitly or by implication assigned to P^2, are really by the third corrector.[1] Lack of exactness in these respects naturally led him to a false estimate of the efficiency of this corrector. For though P^3 is actually the author of a large number of corrections and additions to the text, a great many of which have been accepted by the modern editors, we find Peter criticising him thus (Praef. p. VIII): "tertia denique manus saeculi tertii decimi uel quarti decimi (P^3) ex exemplo aliquo deterioris familiae (Σ), et qua ratione turbatus quaternionum ordo restitueretur, in margine adnotauit et multas scripturas, quae prorsus nullius sunt preti, adscripsit saepe uel erasis primae manus litteris". No instances of this inferior work are given, but the remark is hardly justified even from the evidence furnished by Peter's own notes, considering how often the report "corr. P^3" occurs there. The entire lack of any dependence on the part of this corrector on the Σ class, will by demonstrated later.

However, Peter's failure to appreciate the exact scope of the work of this corrector is not difficult to understand, for the writing exhibits a wide variation in style, due to various modifying circumstances and attesting a long period of possession and study of the codex; and this evidence is further borne out by considerable variation in the color of the ink used at different times in this work. It seems highly improbable that any but an owner would have handled a codex so freely, erasing, correcting and writing a very great number of additions, glosses and notes in the margins and between the lines of the text. In so doing he made use not only of a formal book-hand of great regularity and elegance, but also of a rapid, cursive script; furthermore there is writing in which his hand can be traced, which shows all the possible gradations between the two extremes of style. Without a careful study of these variations as they appear throughout the codex, the unity of the hand might well escape observation. It happens however most fortunately that, through evidence furnished by a minor MS. which was copied from P after P^3's work had been done, this unity can be established beyond question. This copy, Paris. 5816, has been shown by De Nol-

[1] The following might be cited: I, 7, 8; 32, 13; 37, 13; 157, 18; 187, 14; 275, 14; 285, 24. The total number is very large.

hac[1] to have been made for the poet Petrarch by a scribe who worked at Verona, and subscribed his name with the date, 1356, on the last folio. The hand of Petrarch appears in this copy as its only corrector, and my purpose in the next few pages is to show that in P also the third corrector, who did so much valuable work for the text, is none other than the pioneer humanist himself. That De Nolhac has already identified his hand in the Palatine codex, which he therefore claims as having formed part of Petrarch's famous library, I am of course aware. But De Nolhac's identification is limited, as far as I can learn, to the formal, elegant book-hand. For he attributes to Petrarch the greater part of the marginal annotation or commentary in P, where the formal hand chiefly appears, and attributes to him, in a general way, some corrections of the text: "Plusieurs (in the first edition, quelques-unes) des corrections du Palat. lui appartiennent aussi" (vol. II, p. 54, n. 1). But the series of notes which give directions for a reconstruction of the correct order of parts in the lives of Alexander Severus and the Duo Maximini, which are also by the third corrector, De Nolhac certainly does not attribute to Petrarch, for he calls the author of them "un lecteur du XIV[e] siècle", and refers to him later as "cet anonoyme".[2]

The work of this third corrector of P, diverse in style of script as it appears at first sight to be, I have disposed for convenience of discussion in the following four groups:

Group 1 consists chiefly of an extended marginal commentary, containing sententious and moralizing reflections upon the content of the adjacent text, but including also some references of historical and literary interest, and some memoranda for future study. These notes are scattered throughout the whole codex, scarcely a page being without at least one, and are all written in a formal book-hand of great regularity and beauty, though of small size, as shown in pl. I, no. 9, and, less carefully written, in no. 7. A similar commentary appears in Petrarch's hand in the margins of his own copy of P, Paris. 5816 (see example in pl. I, no. 17), which nowhere repeats that of P, though notes of like content appear occasionally in both MSS. at the same place

[1] Petrarque et l'Humanisme (1st. ed., one volume, 1892; 2nd. ed., two volumes, 1907) II, p. 47 and I, p. 117 with n. 2.

[2] Cf. II, p. 50; it is however to be noted that De Nolhac did not himself examine P (cf. p. 49, n. 6). In regard to Rühl's misstatement that he attributed all of the work of Peter's P[3] to Petrarch, see Dessau, p. 409, who certainly did not understand DeN. to have said that. My own view, as indicated in my note in Class. Phil. already referred to, is rejected by Hohl, p. 266, n. 1, and p. 367, n. 1, without the statement of any grounds for so doing.

in the text. This is just what might be expected, if, as De Nolhac supposes, Petrarch transferred his study to the copy after the year 1356. In general, the commentary in the Paris codex is of even greater interest and value than that in P, especially in its historical references and in those to general literature. The combined commentary of the two MSS. makes up a body of scholia which forms a very interesting supplement to the extensive emendation of the text, which Petrarch likewise continued in the Paris copy, apparently after P passed out of his possession, or for some reason became inaccessible to him.[1]

This book-hand style, which De Nolhac has identified in P as Petrarch's, is indeed very similar to his writing in other MSS., now generally conceded to contain his autograph, of which De Nolhac has furnished facsimiles (in Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, 1887, Facsimilés de l'Écriture de Pétrarque). The forms of the letters in the notes in P are very like those in Vat. 3358, an autograph copy of the Bucolicum Carmen of the year 1357 (see Mélanges, pl. III), but the writing in P is much smaller, and in this respect approaches more nearly a note of the year 1369 (Mélanges, pl. IV, no. 4), and the writing in Paris. 5784 after change of pen (see P. et l'H, 1st. ed., pl. II, no. 3). Scholia by Petrarch in the Ambrosian Vergil[2] are also compactly written in a book-hand closely resembling that of the notes in P, and in characters similarly small. The explanation offered by De Nolhac to account for the smaller size of Petrarch's writing elsewhere, namely that it is a habit "qui arrive souvent chez les viellards dont la vue s'affaiblit"[3], is hardly applicable to P; for if, as seems true, the marginal commentary there has "le caractère d'une première lecture général"[4], the notes must have been written some years at least before 1356, the date of the transcription of Paris. 5816, at which date Petrarch could hardly be termed "viellard". Furthermore, in a note at the end of the Bucolicum Carmen, written in 1357 (see Mélanges, pl. III), the writing is as large as in most of the examples offered by De Nolhac, as it is also in the notes in the Paris copy (see pl. I, no. 17). It seems safer therefore to attribute the difference in size to the freedom in which, in general, Petrarch indulged; for that even within the range of the

[1] L. c. II, p. 50ff., where a few examples from P and numerous ones from the Paris copy are given.

[2] See example in Steffen's Lateinische Paleographie, III, pl. 83.

[3] Cf. Mélanges, p. 8, and La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini, by the same author, p. 283.

[4] P. et l'H. II, p. 51.

formal book-hand, he wrote with many variations was early remarked[1].

The same formal elegant writing appears also in P in the names of the emperors, placed as headings to the pages, usually in abbreviated form, in the middle of the upper margin. A similar practice appears in Paris. 5816, where however on the two-columned pages the headings were written by Petrarch in the upper right-hand corner of each folio. In the latter MS. they occur uninterruptedly as far as f. 62, while in P they are occasional and scattered.[2] Also a considerable number of corrections made in the body of the text and written over careful erasures show this same elegant style. Pains were evidently taken to make them as inconspicuous as possible by imitating the size of the letters of the text. This effort succeeded so well, that Peter seems not to have appreciated that this is the work of a corrector; for he regularly reports such corrections as simply "in rasura", i. e. as if they were by the scribe correcting himself.[3] The method of correction and the appearance of the inserted letters are strikingly like similar changes made over erasures in the autograph "Canzoniere", Vat. 3195 (cf. example from P on pl. I, no. 10, with those in Mélanges, pl. I). These changes, regularly adopted in the Paris copy, appear also in other minor MSS., and in the last editions. It is not unlikely that they, together with the marginal commentary and the rest of the writing in the formal style, belong to the early period of Petrarch's possession and study of P, and that later he became less careful of marring the appearance of the codex.

Group 2 includes a number of additions to the text which have

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[1] In regard to the modifications of the hand of Petrarch as known by De Nolhac, see Bibl. de F. O., p. 282, and also Hohl (p. 266, no. 3), who quotes to the same effect M. Vattasso, I codici Petrarcheschi della Biblioteca Vaticana in Studi e testi 20, Rome 1908.

[2] Such page headings by P³ are easily distinguishable from those which were supplied here and there by a later corrector, P⁵, described below. The presence of the headings in the Paris MS. is remarked by De N., P. et l'H. II, p. 48.

[3] Conspicuous examples are the following: I, 38, 27 *sanctu*; 40, 10 *excede*ntes; 78, 12 alieni*s* tempori*bus*; 88, 18 praefe*cisti*; 119, 10 ad*di*ditqz. (this Peter ascribes to P²); 223, 17 subici*e*ns; 247, 12 deferente *sena*tu (shown on pl. I, no. 10); II, 15, 18 nunc; 16, 25 *cōtra*; 36, 17 *erarii* (this Peter says is by P⁵); 38, 27 *istud* (Peter reports: *istutt* P³); 43, 2 *sco*lissi*qs* (sic. Peter's report is misleading: PB both had originally *conlissici*); 66, 29 *obuiā* (Peter: "P³ in ras."); 117, 1 contine*a*nt; 167, 27 igne*s e*tiam; 218, 18 *l*argitionibus; and the final *t* in I, 49, 26; 146, 6; 214, 7; *et spars*. In three of the last group, Peter attributes the change to P².

been adopted in nearly all the minor MSS., in the editio princeps, and, in large part, by the modern editors. They consist usually of single words or of only a very few words, some of them being inserted into the text in such a way as to make them as inconspicuous as possible. This attempt seems later to have been abandoned, and the shorter ones show a considerable variety of script. The longest is the much discussed line added in the lower margin of f. 71^{v}, following the words of the text *a Seuero commendatum* (Cc. 8, 3), and reading *eumque cum seuero professum sub sceuola et seuero in aduocatione fisci successisse,* (see pl. I, no. 14).[1] The writer has carefully maintained the line-space of the codex and has obviously tried to archaize his own hand so as to make the line look as much as possible like the body of the text. But in spite of the imitated clubbing of the shafts of *b, l,* and *d,* the wide-spread tops of *s* and *f,* and the heavy shading of strokes according to the practice of the early Caroline scribes, the writing bears all the marks of a conscious imitation. There is certainly no room for even so much doubt as is expressed by Jordan-Eyssenhardt: "alia ut uidetur manu additus". Mommsen's correspondent attributes the line to "einer Hand etwa des 13. Jahrhunderts". It would better be described as "a hand of the 14th century, which attempts to imitate a ductus of the 9th century, but succeeds only in reproducing a hand of the 12th".[2]

In two other places where a vacant space in the text of P favored the attempt to make inconspicuous additions, the same hand may be recognized, though the archaizing is a little less palpable. At the end of the last line of f. 102^{v}, a vacant space of three or four letters permitted the crowding in of the word *rubrum* (AS. 4, 4); likewise on f. 135, (Gd. 16, 4), into a space of from ten to twelve letters, left vacant (perhaps for the title *Gordianus Junior,* which is included in the body of the text in P, but appears as a separate title in some of the minor MSS.), in writing similar to that of the added line but much cramped

[1] The distinguished role which this addition plays in all discussions of the manuscript tradition, is newly emphasized by Hohl, p. 273—4, who does not, however, identify it with the third corrector, but places it in the first half of the 14th century for reasons that, as I shall show later, are not well grounded (see p. 273, no. 4).

[2] Thus aptly expressed by Mgr. M. Vattasso of the Vatican, who kindly authorized me to quote him as agreeing with me in the attribution of this line to Petrarch. I should here also remark that at the time when I was making this analysis of the hand of the third corrector in P, the valuable work of this expert student of the Petrarch hand (cited on p. 15, n. 1 above) had not yet been published. I do not, therefore, refer to it, for my own study was made without its help.

and abbreviated on account of the small space, were crowded the words *Imperauerunt mensibus sex*; the words *anno uno*, written above this in a different ink and in P^3 's more careless cursive style, attest a later recension. The archaizing is less evident here on account of the crowding, though the height of the letters of the text is carefully kept. While one would certainly hesitate to claim such imitative writing for any special author if it occurred independently, the case is very different when it is found in a MS. which contains much writing with which on close study it is found to have many elements in common. The connection of this hand with the formal writing of P^3, which I have just described under group 1, is less obvious than with a kind of transitional style between the formal book-hand and the cursive writing as it appears in some of the shorter additions, described below. And yet the words added in the margin of f. 65, *quasi impera (tor)* (accompanied by a mark of insertion, showing that they were to be inserted into the text after *miserat*, PN 2, 6; see pl. I, no. 8), which were written in the formal hand of my first group, though larger in size, (without any attempt at archaizing) Peter ascribes to the same corrector who added the line in Cc. 8, 3; he calls him P^2, and gives these two additions as his chief evidence that the second corrector had access to an older archetype (Praef. p. VII). As to their real authority, though they were adopted by all of the minor MSS. (except by the latest or interpolated group), and have been accepted by the editions, following the princeps, yet Mommsen has shown that the shorter addition does not rise above the level of mere conjecture, while the added line bears all the marks of an interpolation, though a skillful one.[1] Peter assigns the other archaized additions, in Gd. 16, 4 and AS. 4, 4, rightly to P^3. Though not adopted by the modern editors, they appear in all the younger MSS. (except again the interpolated group) and in the princeps (M).

But there are other short additions, which show a style of writing approaching the cursive, but yet reveal a close relationship to the formal book-hand on the one hand and to the archaized added line on the other. Such are the following (shown on pl. I, nos. 11, 12, 13): the words *uero excusationem*, following in the margin of f. 70^r the words of the text, *accusationem sui* (Cc. 2, 10), the words *rei euentus*, inserted on f. 65^v above the line after the word *probauit* (PN. 3, 2), and the single word *orationes* added above the line on f. 102^v before the word

[1] Hermes XXV, p. 288; see also Hohl, p. 273 and n. 3.

declamatae (AS. 3, 3). These additions appear in nearly all of the minor MSS., in M, and, with the exception of the last, in the last edition; Jordan-Eyssenhardt admit only the first into their text, which Peter also does, while omitting *sui* and changing the order. Peter attributes nos. 11 and 13 to P^3, but no. 12 to P^2. A comparison of the individual letters in all these additions, whether in archaizing or natural style, will make it evident that they were written by one hand, though at different times. The *e* and the *r* are particularly characteristic, and the long *s*, though heavily shaded in the imitative writing, has the same form and the same extension below the line as in the freer writing. And, on the negative side, there is no other hand in P to whom the imitative writing could be assigned, except possibly the hand of the end of the 14th century, which I call P^4. But the line appears in the Paris copy, which regularly adopted all of the work of P^3 and does not contain any work which is by any later corrector. It is therefore not later than P^3, and — it is unnecessary to add — is certainly not by the 10th century corrector, P^2. That Peter does assign part of this work to P^2, is of no significance, as his inconsistency in the use of that denomination, already pointed out, shows.

Still other small additions show a wide range in the style of P^3; e. g. on f. 103, *mater* added above the line before *Alexandri* (AS. 5, 1; see pl. I, no. 8a), in the formal book-hand, contrasts with the word *ueste*, added in the margin three lines above in the style of nos. 11, 12 and 13, which I have described as transitional to the extreme cursive style, such as appears in the words *Vbi uero maximinus* added above *comperit alexandrum* on f. 144 (Max. 5, 3; see pl. II, no. 5). In the line just above, in pl. I, 8a, the syllable *tra*, intended to be inserted into the undivided *condixit*, is in the formal style, while four lines below the gloss *·i· eliogabalo* is transitional, and seven lines below the inserted *quam* is in cursive style. All were written by P^3, and all, except of course the gloss, appear in the Paris copy. A like contrast is shown in pl. II, no. 3, were *imo* (sic) *maximinus*, in formal style, stands close to writing of an obviously different time in transitional style, *ipse eliogabalus*, while below the glosses *maximinus*, *alexander* and *·i· letus et placidus*, are in extremely cursive style. Peter attributes these also to P^3, and rightly, for they all — except the glosses — appear in Paris. 5816.

Lastly in group 2 may be included the addition of the words *ad diocletianum augustum* to the titles of the biographies of Hadrian, Antonius Pius, Verus, Didius Julianus, Commodus, Avidius Cassius, and

Pescennius, in writing varying considerably in style between the transitional and the cursive writing (example on pl. I, no. 15). All of these additions, with the exception of the last two, were included in the titles by the scribe of Paris. 5816 (spelling *dioclitianum*), who then also made the same addition to the titles of Aelius and Antoninus Philosophus, though they were afterward deleted by Petrarch. That is, the copyist, having adopted the practice from P[3], added the words to all the biographies, in the order of the MSS., from Hadrian to Pertinax, where they also cease in P.[1]

In group 3, consisting of the series of marginal notes in which directions are given for the restoration of order in the disarranged parts of Alexander Severus and the Duo Maximini, and which, as is clear from their content,[2] were certainly written at the same time and by the same hand, there appear the same diversities of style that I have pointed out in group 2. All the notes of this series are shown on pl. II, consisting of the following: no 1 (f. 106) all the marginal writing except the note to the left reading *Ignoras . . . infra*; no. 3 (f. 120) the names of the emperor and author in the left margin, and all the writing in the right margin except the note (by P[2]), *Hic spero minus*;[3] no. 4 (f. 125) all the writing in the right margin; no. 5 (f. 144) the name *Maximinus* in the left and all the writing in the right margin, except the very late cursive note, reading *quam senatui* etc.; no. 6 (f. 148[v]) the names of emperors and author in the right margin and the note in the left margin. These notes are accompanied by a series of signs in which the greenish ink used in the writing appears in combination with bright red ink, and lines in the red ink are drawn across the page to divide off the portions of text which are referred to in the notes, thus corroborating the evidence of the content of the notes themselves that they form a continuous series written by one hand. It is therefore quite incomprehensible that Hohl should not have perceived this, and should have insisted that no. 1 is by a different hand. There is, to be sure, a good deal of variation in style observable in this writ-

[1] The rubrics of the Paris MS. are given entire by De Nolhac, P. et l'H. II, p. 48.

[2] The significance of these notes for the restoration of correct order, as attempted by P[3], and their influence on the younger MSS, will be discussed with the rest of that subject later.

[3] The words immediately below the line drawn across the left margin, *Iterum de uita Alexandri*, obviously do not belong to this series, but probably comprise a memorandum, jotted down by P[3] before he had worked out a definite scheme of restoration. But they are certainly by the same hand, in its distinctly cursive style.

ing, even in parts which are close together and written continuously, but the order of writing them is ascertainable from their content and a rather regular tendency to let the writing become more and more cursive may be traced. The proper names in the right margin of no. 6 and the left margin of no. 5 show a style very closely approaching the formal book-hand of group 1, and especially comparable with no. 8 of pl. I, with the added *mater* in no. 8a, and with the less elegantly written marginal note, no. 7. But similar proper names in the left margin of pl. II, no. 3 are written in the extremely cursive style. Of the notes themselves, the first in order of writing, no. 3, right margin above the line, begins in a style very similar to the transitional style of nos. 11, 12 and 13 of pl. I, although a tendency to crowd, haste and carelessness of execution produce modifications, which make the writing in the mass look somewhat different. But cursive elements soon appear, and rapidly come to predominate in the rest of the series, which were written in the following order: first the note below the line in no. 3; next the note in no. 1: *Require* etc., written around spaces in which there was obviously at the time some writing, which was later erased (note especially the return to the formal style in the word *agitur* below the broad erasure, though certainly written at the same time with the rest of the note); then the upper part of no. 4, no. 3 above the line, the upper part of no. 5, no. 4 below the line, the lower part of no. 5, and finally no. 6, in which the extreme of cursive style is reached. The most characteristic cursive letter is the *d* with long curled-back up-stroke, which appears in the first note of the series alongside of another form of this letter which has straight, or nearly straight, up-stroke, such as appears regularly in the formal style; see forms of this letter in line 2, no. 2, on pl. II, and cf. the example of the formal style in pl. I, no. 9, with the cursive style in no. 15, where both forms of *d* occur close together.

In group 4 I have included a large number of corrections, most of them of small extent, which are scattered throughout the codex, usually written in the cursive style but showing all the range of variation which I have illustrated (in addition to those already cited on pl. II, nos. 3 and 4, see also no. 7, and on pl. I, nos. 2, 7 and 8a); and also a considerable number of glosses and explanatory notes, written between the lines, usually in the hasty cursive manner (beside those cited in pl. II, nos. 3 and 4, three examples are shown in pl. II, no. 7). Not infrequently writing by this hand appears in contrasting styles and with varying colors of ink close together, as in the two glosses refer-

red to on pl. II, no. 3, indicating different recensions made at various times.

That the corrector, whose identity in the last three groups will readily, I think, on closer study of my facsimiles, be conceded, is one with the writer of the first group, namely Petrarch, is best shown by comparison with the great humanist's hand-writing in formal, transitional and cursive styles, as exemplified in autographs already recognized as his elsewhere. We fortunately possess, as a basis of comparison, two collections of Petrarch autographs, written under circumstances which would naturally call into play the various kinds of hand-writing which he was in the habit of practicing. One is the Vatican collection (no. 3196), containing what are evidently the first drafts of poems, with frequent marginal notes, corrections, addenda, and the like. Some of the pages are filled with elegant, regular forms, while others are covered with loose irregular scrawls, and together they show all possible variations between formal and cursive writing.[1] The other is the Florentine collection (Laur. 53, 37), containing letters written by Petrarch and also others written by friends to him.[2] The genuineness of these autograph letters of Petrarch has been questioned,[3] but was satisfactorily demonstrated by Rühl, who made a careful analysis of the ductus appearing in them.[4] As he points out, this is not a codex in the ordinary sense, but is a collection of loose sheets of different shapes and sizes, which have been bound into a book, most of them still showing the creases of folding and the rubbing of transmission, and often bearing on the outside fold the address, or, in a few cases, memoranda in regard to the date of receipt or of reply.

Rühl distinguishes three types of writing used by Petrarch in the

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[1] A complete set of reproductions of these sheets has been published by Monaci, in Archivio Paleographico italiano, tav. 52—71; the Vatican number 3195 is erroneously given for this codex, instead of the actual 3196.

[2] Facsimiles are given by Vitelli e Paoli, Collezione paleographica fiorentina, tav. 12, of two of the three short letters which, now glued together, form folio 12. To illustrate more fully the range of variation in the writing, I add other examples on pl. II, nos. 8 to 12.

[3] By Voight, Berichte der Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. 1879, p. 54 sq., and by Viertel, Wiederauffindung von Ciceros Briefen durch Petrarca, p. 18 sq., and 37 sq. The genuineness of the Vatican fragments has long been undisputed; see De Nolhac, Facsimilés de l'Écriture de Pétrarque, p. 3.

[4] In Rhein. Mus. 36, p. 11 sq. Had Monaci's beautiful reproductions been published at the time of Rühl's study, or had he been acquainted at first hand with the originals, he would no doubt have regarded a demonstration of the genuineness of the autograph in the Florentine collection of letters as superfluous. But for our purpose, his careful analysis is most helpful.

Florentine letters; a first style, which he designates P^1, is represented by Vitelli e Paoli, in pl. 12, a, and in my pl. II, no. 8, part of f. 5^v; a second style, which he calls P^2, is illustrated by V. e P., pl. 12, b, and by my no. 12, taken from f. 17; and that which he calls a transitional style is shown in my no. 9, from f. 8. My no. 10 from f. 10, which is classified by Rühl as P^1, seems to me nearer the transitional style, and I have included it to show how slight are the gradations between his extreme styles which Petrarch's writing exhibits. My no. 11 is taken from f. 4^v, which Rühl hesitates to ascribe to Petrarch, because of its very wide divergence in style from P^2; but if one compares it with the extremely cursive style which appears in some of the Vatican sheets, there would scarcely seem to be sufficient ground in the style alone for not accepting it. The extremely cursive writing is also exemplified in the Florentine letters by a memorandum hastily scribbled by Petrarch on the back of a letter from one of his friends (f. 19), which, though too much rubbed and faded to be legible in a reproduction, can be made out in the original as follows: *Recepta?* (last letter uncertain, but probably *m*). 1344. *April'*. 30. *Responsa?* (ending again illegible) 4. *Maij. px.*[1] With the addition of this note, the Florentine letters furnish the same complete range of variation in style as the Vatican sheets, of which I have selected the following for comparison. Monaci's pl. no. 52 shows Rühl's first style, which in elegance and regularity and in the forms of the individual letters, is the same as the formal book-hand of my first group of P^3 (cf. again pl. I, nos. 8, 9 and 10); the same forms of the letters, but with wider spacing and a tendency in many places to the transitional style, appear in the writing of Petrarch in the margins and in corrections in the text in his copy of P, Paris. 5816 (pl. I, no. 17). Monaci's pl. no. 53, left side, furnishes a good example of the transitional style (cf. my pl. I, nos. 12 and 13), while the right side of the same sheet contains writing of the first style. The second style of Rühl, which is often written with great regularity and beauty, as appears in my example from the Florentine letters (pl. II, no. 12),[2] and in DeNolhac's

[1] For further description of f. 19, see Rühl, p. 18.

[2] Observe the addition of *et frugalitatis* over the second line of this reproduction, written in the first or formal style; this is to be compared with the places in P already mentioned, where the two styles occur close together, as in pl. II, no. 3, in the two glosses above the second line. The objection which might be raised, that the text of the letter was written by a secretary at dictation, and the corrections later made by Petrarch himself, has been satisfactorily met by Rühl for the Florentine letters; and is further refuted by the occurrance of similar examples in the Vatican collection of first drafts of poems, where the use of a secretary is *a priori* out of the question.

Facsimilés, pl. IV, no. 1, is exemplified also by Monaci's plates, nos. 54 to 62. No example of this style, executed with regularity and elegance, exists in P, but the same forms of the letters, when carelessly and hastily made, are just what constitute the cursive writing of P³ in the notes of my group 3 and in his numerous glosses and corrections throughout the Palatine codex (as in nos. 7 and 12 on pl. II). When such writing is crowded and compact, it presents a somewhat different look from that which it has when more loosely scrawled, as in Monaci's plates, nos. 64 to 71, though the actual forms of the individual letters will be seen, on comparison, to be the same.

The most characteristic letters by which Rühl distinguishes his three styles, are those which have long up-strokes, namely *l*, *b*, *d* and *h*, but especially *d*. Taking this as the typical letter, he finds that in the first style it has for up-stroke a straight line thrown obliquely to the left, often quite long; in the transitional style this is long and oblique but tends to curve upward at the end; finally in the second style it extends into a long tapering queue which curls completely back to the right. These are exactly the variations of the letter which occur in the writing of the third corrector of the Palatine codex, as I have already pointed out. But I would suggest as additional characteristic letters for the identification of Petrarch's hand, the two forms of *s*, the short form with its lower curve dropping below the line, and the long *s* with its curve much thickened and its down-stroke taperingly off thinly far below the line; minuscle *p* with its long stroke curving at the top away from the round belly of the letter; minuscle *e*, especially when final, with its horizontal middle stroke prolonged and ending in a slightly downward curve; capital *V* with the left stroke widely curved and the whole letter tipped more or less leftward; capital *R* with its final stroke turned out sharply horizontal to the right. Examples of the last named appear in Monaci, nos. 52 and 61, in the latter, in the cursive 'Risposta' between Petrarch's two poems; also in my pl. II, no. 10 from the Florentine letters, and nos. 1 and 4 of the marginal notes from P.

The identification of P³ with Petrarch, which I have tried to demonstrate through comparison of the hand-writing itself,[1] receives cor-

[1] Additional evidence is furnished by the presence of certain characteristic signs, which appear in connection with Petrarch's writing in various MSS. in which his hand has been identified. The commonest is a combination of dots with a wavy line placed close to the text in the margin, which appears in Paris. 5816 with great frequency, and in P on almost every page (see pl. I, nos. 9 and 14, and in pl. III series A from P, and in pl. I, no. 17 from the Paris copy). A different arrangement of a single dot and a wavy line was used at the be-

roboration of the strongest kind from a study of the relation of Paris. 5816 to P. DeNolhac verified his conclusion that the Paris MS was a copy of the Palatine, made for Petrarch and used by him for his subsequent study of the Historia Augusta, by a comparison of some few readings in the two MSS.[1] A complete collation of the Paris codex furnishes a great and altogether conclusive amount of such evidence.[2] It is certain that all the work of P^3, as I have outlined it above, was already in P at the time when the Paris copy was made, and that the scribe, presumably under the direction of Petrarch, accepted it all unquestioningly. All the corrections and additions made in the text by P^3 were adopted by him in the copy, detail for detail, and the directions for the reconstruction of order of the misplaced parts, which P^3 had written in the margins, were carefully followed—indeed they may well have been written especially for the guidance of the copyist. In the instances in which he occasionally overlooked the corrections of P^3, identical or similar corrections were made in the copy by Petrarch himself, who is, as I have said, its only corrector. He then carried the work of emendation much further in the copy, apparently without reverting to the Palatine codex for comparison. Evidence of this is furnished by the manner in which he corrected certain errors of the copyist, in consequence of which he had produced corrupt readings not in P at all.[3]

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ginning of the notes of the marginal commentary, regularly in P (see pl. I, nos. 7 and 9), and in Paris. 5816 (no. 17); it may be seen also in DeN's Facsimilés, pl. IV, nos. 2, 3 and 4, in his Fulv. Ors. no. 1, and in P. et l'H., 1 st. ed. pl. II, no. 2, and pl. III. A sign of insertion, which took characteristic form with Petrarch, occurs several times in P (e. g. in pl. I, no. 8), and in Paris. 5816 (e. g. at I, 85, 25; 165, 14; and II, 235, 19), also in Petrarch's Iliad (facsimile in P. et l'H. 1 st. ed. pl. III), and in the Vatican sheets (Monaci, pl. 54, upper right margin). It is frequent in the Paris Livy (5690), e. g. on f. 51, and in the Paris Pliny (6802), e. g. on f. 1^v, both of which MSS. DeN. claims for Petrarch's library. The frequent occurrence in the margins of Petrarch's books of the forms *At.* or *At'* (i. e. *Attende*), and of the still more frequent *Nota,* either written out (as usually in P, on pl. I, no. 16) or in monogram ℵ, once ℵ, (as in the Paris copy), has been commented on by DeNolhac. Such devices furnish corroborative testimony of no slight weight, when they are found associated with a characteristic hand-writing.

[1] P. et l'H. II, p. 49.

[2] Cf. Hohl's conviction of this relation between P and Paris. 5816, as a result of his use of part of my collation of the latter MS, p. 263.

[3] For example at I, 222, 7, P has *omissis,* which the copyist, with dittography, rendered *omisissis;* Petrarch corrects to *omisis his* (sic): the princeps so reads. Again at I, 260, 17, P^1B read *dicit ut;* the copyist carelessly wrote *dicttu,* and Petrarch changed to *edixit ut:* so M. Likewise at I, 277, 20, the copyist wrote, with haplography, *libres* for P's *libriles,* and Petrarch corrected to *libros;* and at I, 284, 17, for *ac tantae* of P, the scribe wrote *etate,* beside which Pe-

The third corrector of P was obviously a scholar quite above the average of his time in learning and ability; but it is hard to believe that Petrarch, who was above all a man of independent mind, would have directed to have adopted in his own copy every detail of the work of P^3, without reservation or criticism — his own work in the Paris copy supplements, but nowhere corrects that of P^3, — unless that third corrector were identical with himself. Such a procedure would certainly be out of harmony with the energy and independence he elsewhere displays in such matters. With the support which this argument gains from the evidence furnished by the hand-writing, it seems unnecessary to discuss the matter further. The Palatine, we can be sure, was for a considerable period of time in the possession of the 'first humanist', who, as its third corrector, laid in it the foundations for all future critical work on its corrupt text. He might indeed be called its first redactor.

But Petrarch is not the only scholar of the 14th century who studied and attempted to correct the text of the Palatine codex. Though not yet recognized in the full scope of its activity as that of a separate corrector, another hand, which I shall call P^4, is clearly to be distinguished from Petrarch's; that he was later than Petrarch, is certain from the fact that none of his work appears in the text of Paris. 5816.[1] His writings in P, which show, like the hand of P^3, a good deal of variety of style, I have grouped for convenience as follows: 1) A number of variants introduced by the sign *al' (aliter)* or *l' (uel)*, usually written between the lines of the text, of which an example is shown on pl. I, no. 23; when, as in a few cases, they are written in the margin, they are accompanied by two dots and the word concerned in the text is indicated by the same

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trarch placed the rough cross with which in the Paris copy he regularly marks a corrupt and uncertain place. In II, 105, 25 the copyist omitted *atque* of P, in place of which Petrarch added *que* to *armorum*. In II, 230, 25 P's *legatum* was changed to the meaningless *segatum*, which Petrarch corrected to *senatum*. Comparison with P would in all these cases quickly have cleared up the difficulty. On the other hand, frequent errors and peculiarities of orthography on the part of the copyist Petrarch left uncorrected, where they did not obscure the reading.

[1] That certain changes made by Petrarch in his own copy, are identical with corrections made by the fourth corrector in P, seems to indicate that the latter had access to the Paris codex as well as to the Palatine (for which likelihood more evidence is given below); certainly, in the face of the great mass of other evidence, the reverse cannot be true. Instances occur at I, 9, 1, where P^1 and the scribe of Paris. 5816 wrote *rex*, changed by P^4 and Petrarch (in the margin of the Paris MS: *r̃eḡ*) to *regis;* and in 253, 2, where in the text of both MSS *tantum omini* was written by the first hand and in the margins the variant *tanto nomini* by P^4 and Petrarch.

sign (as with the variant *tanto nomine,* mentioned in p. 25, n. 1; cf. pl. I, no. 19). These marginal variants are usually not reported by Peter, though they reappear in the readings of most of the later MSS.[1] 2) A number of conjectures accompanied by the sign ⸗ (the significance of which is discussed below), written between the lines, occasionally in the margins, all in the latter half of the codex, where Petrarch's corrections are less numerous. Brief examples are shown on pl. I, no. 9, in the third line from the bottom, and in no. 20, while a more extended one, accompanied by two dots, from the margin of f. 139ᵛ (Gd. 30, 1) is shown in no. 19.[2] 3) The phrase *ad Constantinum Augustum* (see pl. I, nos. 2 and 22) added to the titles of certain biographies,[3] in imitation of the addition which P³ made to some of the earlier titles. 4) A series of marginal notes which concern the restoration of the correct order of the disarranged portions of the text, and attempt to correct some errors of P³, carrying the matter much nearer the right solution. These notes, shown on pl. II, are as follows: the note in no. 1, written in an erasure: *Ignoras ... infra;* in no. 2 the two notes in the left margin, one with the

[1] Such are I, 10, 8 (f. 4ᵛ) *l'(resti)tuerit;* 12, 3 (f. 5ᵛ) *l' eos;* 12, 19 *al' utrem;* 25, 18 (f. 11) *l' s. c.;* 28, 4 (f. 12) *al' cossam;* 29, 15 (f. 12ᵛ) *al' morosior;* 30, 7 *al' adeptus;* 31, 3 (f. 13 *i. m.*) ·*al' iam deputatus;* 36, 7 (f. 15) *al' castus;* 17 *al' lorina;* 42, 4 (f. 17 *i. m.*) ·*al' anticipare;* 38, 24 (f. 15ᵛ) *l'* (read *p,* i. e. *pro* by Peter) *lauans;* 56, 13 (f. 23) *l' senatoribus;* 59, 5 (f. 24) *al' rete;* 27 *l' si;* 160, 12 (f. 66) *al' illustribus;* 234, 9 (f. 82) *al' sculpta;* II, 7, 29 (f. 144ᵛ) *massas al' magna saxa;* 10, 14 (f. 145ᵛ) *al' morigeratus;* 238, 12 (f. 214ᵛ) *al' morem.* Very few of these variants occur in the latter part of the codex, where most of the conjectures of group 2 are found. They are attributed by Peter, when reported, to P³; four he does not mention, although the change suggested in one is adopted in his text. Not all of the variants in P with the sign *al'* are by P⁴. Some I have already referred to P², and some are by a very late corrector described below. Petrarch did not use this sign in P nor in the Paris MS, but in the latter used regularly instead, the sign *vl',* as with the variant mentioned in note 42.

[2] Other examples are the following: I, 286, 15 (f. 122ᵛ) *mul*tum; II, 82, 23 (f. 155ᵛ) dege*ne*rantes; 115, 1 (f. 168) sed *et;* 188, 10 (f. 196ᵛ in m.) *dignum;* 239, 10 (f. 215) porta*re*tur; and involving single letters at 108, 6; 114, 3; 142, 17; 180, 3; 183, 31; 191, 9; 227, 9; 238, 13. Of these corrections all but the one in II, 188, 10, are adopted in the text by Peter, though he makes no report in five cases: in II, 108, 6 he explains his reading merely by 'scripsi', the others are left unaccounted for. Most of the reported cases are attributed to P³, but II, 82, 23 and 238, 13 to P². In II, 183, 31 the correction: *ingenus,* i. e. *ingenuis,* is misread *ingenuas* (the reading of B²) by the Berlin editors, and adopted in that form by Peter also. It seems to be the right reading, but it does not appear in P.

[3] These are Geta, Heliogabalus, Alexander Severus, Maximini Duo, Gallieni Duo, Claudius, Aurelius, Tacitus, Probus, and Carus, Carinus and Numerianus. Those for Gallieni Duo, Claudius, and Tacitus are not reported by Peter, though the Berlin ed. has them all, and in Claudius calls the hand 'manus recentissima in P'.

sign II, *infra et templa reliqua* etc., the other with the sign ○-, *Vade ad paginam etc.*; in no. 3 the note in the left margin with the sign ⋕, *infra comperit* etc.; and in no. 6, the note in the upper margin with the sign ○+, *uade superius* etc. Also a note concerning the order of a misplaced part of the life of Numerianus (f. 212, shown in pl. I, no. 18), while written in a formal book-hand in contrast to the cursive employed in the rest of the notes just cited, is by the same hand,[1] though probably written at a different time. The bearing of these notes on the restoration of the correct order, and their influence on the later MSS, will be discussed in a later part of this paper. 5) A marginal note on f. 25^{v}, the only one, aside from those concerned with the restoration of order, by this hand (shown on pl. I, no. 21), is not only useful in furnishing a considerable piece of writing for the study of the hand, but also helps by its content to identify more certainly the corrector to whom I have attributed it, as I shall shortly show. The note repeats, with some slight variations, the text of MA 21, 9, in the margin opposite MA 17, 5, and a sign indicates that the words of the note are to be connected with the text following the words *celebrata est*, in which place indeed it appears in the text of all the minor MSS (except of course Paris. 5816 and its dependents).[2] Finally in group 6) are included a considerable number of corrections and minor additions to the text, scattered throughout the codex, without accompanying sign or merely with the ordinary sign of insertion.[3] It is not always easy to distinguish these slighter changes

[1] Hohl, p. 277, n. 2, expresses exactly the opposite view in regard to the origin of this note, but I think comparison of my examples of the hand of P^{4}, and my analysis of it below, will convince the reader that I am right.

[2] The signicance of this fact for such MSS. as Vat. 1899 and the MSS· of the Σ group, I will point out later.

[3] Examples are I, 21, 10 (f. 9) pantheo*n*; 44, 16 (f. 18) ue*t*areturque; 59, 24 (f. 24) *ferri*; 128, 20 and 22 (f. 35) *cum*; 282, 4 (f. 120) agnosc*ens* and constit*isset*; 264, 19 (f. 108^{v}) *pre*torias; 25 *st*adii; 277, 3 (f. 113^{v}) *ad quae*; II, 25, 28 (f. 128) *inter*; 131, 22 (f. 174^{v}) *po*test; 234, 6 (f. 213) *sic*; 239, 9 (f. 215 *in m.*) *uigilia*, with the sign ·*s*·, but no indication of the point of connection with the text, though Peter, 'teste Grutero', reads it in place of P's *nimia*. Dessau as well as Peter attributes it to P^{3}. Of the whole number of these, Peter adopts 9 in the text, attributing 5 to P^{2} and 4 to P^{3}. In the margins P^{4} also added (with two dots to mark the connection in the text): I, 4, 14 (f. 2^{v}) *beneficia*; 253, 2 (f. 104) *tanto nomine*; 265, 7 (f. 108^{v}) *ad auroram*. Peter ignores the first and last of these, but adopts the second in his text, attributing it (by implication) to P^{2}. Also involving only single letters, but showing the characteristic style and color of P^{4}, are the following: I, 37, 11 magn*e*; 42, 10 su*b*licius; 65, 26 decurs*o*; 142, 23 and 25 adia*b*enis and adia*b*enicus; 146, 11 quas*i*; 12 profect*us*; 186, 2 euergetis; 213, 1 *a* macrino; 218, 9 de*b*uit; 248, 16 and 17 suffraga*n*te; II, 138, 10 patri*u*m. Three of these Peter assigns to P^{2}, the rest to P^{3}, and adopts in his text all but two.

from those of P^3, for the hands are of so nearly the same period that there is not a great deal of difference in the general style of writing, or in the kind of ink used. This is however of more yellowish cast in the case of P^4, while that of P^3 is greenish.[1] But since it is certain that none of the work of the fourth corrector which can be surely identified appears in the text of Petrarch's copy, that codex can be used as a criterion in discriminating between the two 14th century hands, as to the authorship of the minor changes.

The extent of the work done in P by this corrector makes it clear that, as in the case of P^3, the codex was for some time in his possession or accessible to him; and an examination of his suggestions for the emendation of the text (as shown in notes 1 and 2, p. 26, and n. 3, p. 27), shows him also to have been a scholar of no mean ability. It will be of more than ordinary interest to identify a second efficient contributor to the criticism of this corrupt text with another of the prominent humanistic scholars of this early period.

It has already been tentatively suggested by Dessau[2] that after Petrarch's death in 1374 the Palatine codex may have been for a time in the possession of the Florentine statesman and scholar, Coluccio Salutati. It is well known that in the early years after the great humanist's death this younger friend and fellow-bibliophile sought to obtain possession of some portions of Petrarch's famous collection of books, the dispersal of which had almost immediately begun, and that in some cases his efforts met with success[3]. It has furthermore been shown from references in Coluccio's own letters, that he was well acquainted with our collection of imperial biographies, and that he cited directly from a text, or texts, before him, the earliest reference occurring in a letter

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[1] Good places to study the contrast in style and ink between P^3 and P^4 are the following: in I, 20, 25 (f. 9), P's unreadable *lusos* is corrected by P^3 (by a point below the *o* and a letter *u* written above) to *lusus*, which Paris. 5816 has; P^4 pointed out the two *s*'s and wrote above the *u* of P^3 the letters *dos*, making *ludos*, which some of the later MSS. have (B^3 also has *ludos*, not B^2, as Peter reports). Also at I, 37, 23 (f. 15^v), above the word *priuata*, P^3 adds *uita*, with a sign of insertion before *priuata* (Paris. 5816 reads *priuata uita*); P^4 added to *uita* the word *sua*, with striking contrast to P^3 in style and color. Some of the later MSS. have actually *uita sua priuata*. In the same style and color P^4 also adds at 47,4 (f. 19) the same word *sua*, and two lines below the word *fuit*, and in l. 7 adds *s* to *urbi*; none of which changes appear in Paris. 5816, but all are read in Vat. 1899 and some other late MSS.

[2] L. c. p. 410, and n. 2, where he says that he was led to this opinion by 'einige freilich unsichere Spuren'.

[3] See De Nolhac, P. et l'H. I, p. 88ff.; and also Schmidt in the article cited below, p. 294 ff.

of the year 1381. What codex — or codices, for he speaks of 'quidam codices' — did he possess? Of the exemplars of this work which are now known, there could have existed at that time only P, B, and Paris. 5816. Arguing from our knowledge of the scholarly habits of this eager student of the classics, we should exspect him to submit the text, still very corrupt even after Petrarch's revision of it, to a rigorous study and emendation, and we should exspect to find visible evidence of this in whatever codex he used. B is out of the question, for there is no hand on its pages belonging to this period and no evidence that it was ever in Italy. In the Paris MS. the only corrector is Petrarch himself. In P however we do find a corrector, energetic and able, following chronologically close after P^3, using a ductus which on palaeographic grounds seems to belong to the latter part of the 14th century. What is more likely than that Coluccio did succeed in acquiring this one of Petrarch's exemplars[1]? We lack in this case such indubitable evidence as is furnished by the Paris MS. for the identification of P^3 as Petrarch, but strong confirmation is to be obtained from the relation to P of one of the younger MSS., namely Ricc. 551, which was transcribed from P after all the work of P^4 had been done;[2] for this, as well as most of the changes of the preceding correctors, was regularly adopted in its text. The hand of the copyist of this codex I identified to my own satisfaction, when I examined it in Florence some half dozen years ago, as that of the enthusiastic collector of ancient books, Poggio Bracciolini, and I see that Hohl confirms this identification (p. 279, n. 2). The close association of the younger humanist with the elder Coluccio is well known, and it is quite likely that the Riccardianus was transcribed by the former from P while still in the possession of the latter. The copy has already been correctly assigned from the style of writing to the early part of the 15th century; if my supposition is right, it must be of the very beginning of the century, for Coluccio died in 1406, at which time Poggio (born 1380, died 1459) would still have been quite a young man.

We might hope to find some note of Coluccio's possession on the first folio of the Palatine codex, such as has been found in other books of his; but the original first folio of P is gone, having been replaced

[1] If the words 'quidam codices' are to be taken literally, then Coluccio must have had at least two exemplars before him, and the second was then undoubtedly Paris. 5816 (cf. evidence of connection between this codex and the fourth corrector of P, given above n. 1, p. 25).

[2] Cf. Hohl's belief that this was a direct copy from P, and the evidence he gives of the important position which it holds in the history of the text tradition, p. 276 ff.

by a fresh sheet of parchment, whose white color is in strong contrast to the faded, stained and yellowed pages which follow.[1] We are thrown back chiefly on the identification of the hand-writing itself, confessedly a delicate and uncertain business; but confirmatory evidence of considerable weight is happily obtainable from Coluccio's correspondence.

A careful study and analysis of the hand of the Florentine humanist as it appears in corrections in his exemplar of Cicero's correspondence with Atticus, Med. 49, 18, has already been made by O. E. Schmidt,[2] who presents plates containing examples of Coluccio's hand-writing. These facsimiles, together with the plates containing Coluccio's autographs in Novati's publication of his correspondence,[3] will furnish examples of enough variety to serve as a basis of comparison with the writing of P[4], which I present in plates I and II, as above indicated.

Schmidt seems to have been at first considerably puzzled at the diversity of style shown in various examples of Coluccio's writing, until he appreciated the fact that, like Petrarch, he used different styles on different occasions and in different circumstances[4]. He therefore finally distinguishes two main styles, a ductus 1 (as shown in Novati, vol. I, pl. II, and in Schmidt's pl. 4, the first note), in which the characteristic letters are ℓ, ℰ, ℓ, ∂ and ℏ; and a ductus 2, having these letters in the forms: ℓ, ℓℓ, ᵬ, ∂ and ℏ, as they appear in Novati, vol. III, pl. III, and in Schmidt's pl. 1, in two of the marginal notes on his pl. 4, and also in the corrections by the second hand in the text of his pl. 3. Besides these two styles, in Novati's pl. II, vol. III is shown writing in a careful formal book-hand, whose regularity and beauty are approached in the first few lines in Schmidt's pl. 1, and in the opening words of Novati's pl. III, vol. III, which are noticeably more carefully written than the rest of the page. In this formal hand small finials are used at the left of the up-strokes of *l*, *b* and *h*, and these occasionally appear in the more informal writing also; as e. g. in the correction *simile*, l. 24 of Schmidt's pl. 4. We find then that Coluccio used not only an elegant, formal book-hand, and a quite cursive style, Schmidt's ductus 1, but

[1] The name of Gianozzo Manetti, written on the reverse side, makes it probable that this new folio was added by him on his acquisition of the codex; for his work in P, see description of P[5] below.

[2] Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Briefe Ciceros ad Atticum, in Abh. d. Königl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch., phil.-hist. Klasse, vol. X.

[3] Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati, 3 vols., Rome, 1891.

[4] *L. c.* p. 285; note Schmidt's comparison in this respect with the variation in the Petrarch hand as analyzed by Rühl.

also a sort of transitional style between the two, Schmidt's ductus 2. This variation is closely analogous to that of Petrarch.

Now in the writing of P^4, which at first sight presents a good deal of diversity of style (cf. again nos. 18 to 23 on pl. I, with the writing in the notes of group 4, as indicated above, shown in nos. 1, 2, 3 and 6 on pl. II), nothing to be compared to the extremely cursive elements of Schmidt's ductus 1 is to be found; but the note in no. 18, pl. I approaches very closely Coluccio's book-hand as shown in Novati's pl. II, vol. III, while the note in no. 21 on pl. I, though written less carefully, shows the same elements (note especially the finial on the letter *b* in the third line). And Schmidt's ductus 2 appears in the first of P^4's notes concerning the rearrangment of the order (pl. II no. 1), and in the smaller more running hand of the rest of the notes of that series, also in the addition to the title on pl. I no. 2, in which most of the letters are linked, as they are also in the more hastily written examples of Schmidt's ductus 2 in pl. 1 and in Novati's pl. III, vol. III. In all but the most careful book-hand, the most characteristic letter of Coluccio's writing is the *e*. Where it is not linked with a following letter, it is formed in three strokes and left open on the right side, lacking the cross-stroke which is usually carried back to the curve on the left, thus: ; when linked or when final, an additional stroke is carried sharply to the right from the open end and thrown upward in a curve, thus: . This is strikingly different from Petrarch's letter *e*, which has a cross-stroke, which, in the final position or when linked, is extended downward to the right thus: . Compare this letter in Schmidt's pl. 4, in the corrections *simile*, l. 24, and *commendare*, l. 7, and in my pl. I, nos. 18 to 21, with the *e* in Petrarch's writing in nos. 9 to 14 from P and no. 17 from the Paris MS.

Besides the close resemblance in hand-writing between P^4 and the second corrector of Med. 49, 18, whom Schmidt has identified as Coluccio, very striking similarity in methods of correction are observable. Schmidt (l. c. p. 297) groups the work of this corrector as follows: 1) a body of variants accompanied by the sign *al'*, usually written between the lines but occasionally in the margins; 2) many conjectures accompanied by the sign , also usually written between the lines, but when extended or in places where other corrections had already been made, in the margins; 3) corrections without a sign, by far the most numerous and important, written in erasures or added above the line with the sign of insertion, these very rarely appearing in the margins. Comparison with my 1st, 2nd, and 6th groups of the work of P^4, shows exactly the same conditions, except that P^4 also uses the sign *l'* (*uel*). But it should

be noted that although Schmidt is uncertain of the hand in the case of one variant with this latter sign which is also accompanied by two dots (cf. the use of the same device by P⁴ above), he does include in his list of undoubted corrections by Coluccio, some other cases where the two dots occur. I am of course not arguing for the exclusive use of any of these signs by Coluccio, except perhaps the uncommon one ⁊.[1] But it seems hardly a matter of chance that the second corrector of Med. 49, 18 and the fourth corrector of P should have executed their revisions in exactly the same way, in hand-writing very closely similar, making use of exactly the same signs, and displaying the same serious purpose, vigor, and independent ability. I am myself convinced that they are one and the same person.

Interesting corroboration of this identification of P⁴ with Coluccio is to be drawn from his correspondence. The earliest reference there to the Historia Augusta occurs in a letter of the year 1381, addressed to Charles, King of Naples and Sicily (Novati II, p. 41), in which Coluccio cites at some length from the biography of Marcus Aurelius. After condensing and paraphrasing somewhat freely the first part of chap. 17, he quotes word for word from the beginning of section 4, *(quod) extra ordinem* through the words *celebrata est* in section 5; then reads *ac ne provincialibus esset molestus, preter vestes et vasa aurea adhuc et signa cum tabulis magnorum artificum vendidit*; then he partly paraphrases and partly quotes exactly the text as it continues in chap. 17 after *celebrata est* to the end of sec. 5. That is, with the omission of *etiam* before *preter* and with the reading of *magnorum* for *magistrorum*, he writes P⁴'s marginal note on f. 25ᵛ (see pl. I, no. 21) continuously with the text at the place where P⁴'s sign indicates it should be inserted. Novati's note at this point explains the interpolation as follows: 'son qui trascritti quasi

[1] Schmidt's interpretation of this sign as a monogram or abbreviation of Coluccio's name, C(oluccio) S(alutati), seems highly fanciful and unlikely (cf. also Dessau, l. c. p. 410, n. 2). The form which Schmidt reports for it in the Medicean Cicero, i. e. a letter *s* written above but a little in front of a letter *c*, thus: c^s, is not that in which it appears in P. There, directly above the *c* is a curved line which might in some cases be explained as a carelessly made *s*, but not in all; see examples on pl. I, nos. 9, 19 and 20, in which latter case it has not at all the form of an *s*, but rather thus: ⁊. It is certainly not necessary to resort to such an improbable explanation; for if it can be shown that this was a favorite device of Coluccio's for marking conjectures, it is of just as much service as an aid in identifying his work, especially when found in connection with other signs which he commonly used, as if it were indeed his monogram. It may be of use in identifying other MSS., which were once in Coluccio's possession. I noted it in the Paris Livy, no. 5690, once in Petrarch's library, on ff. 23ᵛ, 30, 31 and others, in the form in which it occurs in P rather than in that which Schmidt reports for it.

alla lettera e fusi insiemi due brani di Jul. Capitol. M. Ant. Phil. XVII e XXI'. It is true that P^4's note contains words that are repeated from the text of chap. 21, sec. 9, but with some differences: namely the text has *magnorum* where the note has *magistrorum*, and does not have *etiam* before *preter*, as the note does. In these two respects Coluccio's citation follows the text of 21, 9 rather than P^4's note. But in other respects the contrary is true, for neither citation nor note has after *molestus* the words of the text of 21, 9 *auctionem rerum aulicarum, ut diximus, fecit in foro diui Traiani in qua*, but continues with *praeter uestes* etc.; and the text reads *etiam* after *uasa aurea*, where both note and citation have *adhuc et*. Also they both begin with the word *ac* where the text reads *et*, and they both omit the words *et pocula*, which the text has after *praeter uestes*. The citation is then on the whole much nearer to the note than to the text of 21, 9, the only striking difference being the use of the word *magnorum* from the text instead of *magistrorum* from the note. If we should suppose that Coluccio had P, containing P^4's note, under his eye as he quoted[1], perhaps at the same time comparing with it the part of the text of chap. 21, which, as he had already observed, repeats closely the text of chap. 17, and preferring for his purposes the more general word *magnorum* as there given, should we not have the solution to this puzzle? That is, Coluccio, in his study of the Palatine codex, observing this instance of the double treatment of the same facts which often occurs in these badly constructed biographies, made the note in the margin of P, and later followed it when quoting the passage in his letter.

In two other letters he refers to an incident from the life of this emperor, namely his boyish grief at the death of his 'educator', as narrated in the biography of Antoninus Pius, 10, 5. In this passage in P there is a correction by P^1 from *uocareturque* to *uetareturque*, which has not been adopted by the modern editors. In a letter of date November 27, (Novati II, p. 55), Coluccio refers to this incident, quoting word for word only the speech of the youth to his attendants; the passage leading up to this speech, i. e. the text from *cum Marcus* through *ille dixerit*, he paraphrases, using the expression 'monentibus illum aulicis ne pietatem ostentaret', for the text *uocareturque ac aulicis ministris ab ostentatione pietatis.*[2]

[1] Since the note does not appear in Paris. 5815, and since Ricc. 551, which is the earliest copy of P that does contain it, was not yet written, P is the only codex in which at that time he could have read it.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 468. Other references to the Historia Augusta in Coluccio's letters, as in II, pp. 49, 297 and 415, offer no evidence for the point at issue, namely the identification of P^4.

The same incident is referred to again in a letter of February 21, 1401, where likewise he quotes directly only the speech of Marcus, and paraphrases the preceding portion of text just quoted as follows: 'cum A. . . . . ab amicis et aulicis inhiberetur ostentare pietatem.' In both of these paraphrases, especially in the second, the meaning of *uetaretur*, P^{4}'s word, is followed rather than that of the original *uocaretur*. Twice, then, in citing a passage which had apparently made a special impression on his mind, Coluccio seems to be using the version of the fourth corrector of P. This is most easily accounted for on the theory that he is himself P^{4}. Thus the evidence drawn from the letters, confirming that of hand-writing and method of revision, makes the identification seem to the writer practically certain.

The next possessor of P who left his mark on its pages is the Florentine theologian and humanist, Gianozzo Manetti, as is attested by his *ex libris*, 'Iannocii Manetti', with the number 82, written, together with a new index, on the reverse of the new white folio, which in the present binding precedes the list of Vitae with which the text of the Palatine codex begins[1]. The hand-writing, appearing there, serves to identify Manetti as the author of some other work also, scattered through the codex. He contributes little to the improvement of the text, his chief service being the final completion of the rearrangement of the disordered portions of Alexander Severus, which had been brought near to the correct solution by the successive efforts of P^{3} and P^{4}. His notes, whose bearing on the matter of rearrangement are discussed with the rest of this subject below and shown on pl. II, are as follows: In no. 2 the note in the upper margin of f. 115^{v} reading *In iocos dulcissimus* etc., and the very careless cursive writing above P^{4}'s notes in the left margin, reading *Vide sequentia* etc.; in no. 3 a note in the upper margin of f. 120, *Comperit alexandrum. Vade ad* 144., and in the text at the right over the word *occiso* the direction, *Vide seq. pag.* 144; and in no. 5 the upper note in cursive in the right margin of f. 144, *quam senatui* etc. Manetti — or P^{5}, as he must be denominated — also wrote many marginal notes, which do not constitute an independent commentary, as do those of P^{3}, but for the most part

[1] The presence of Manetti's signature in P is noted by DeN., P. et l'H., II, p. 50, by Dessau, p. 409, and by Hohl, p. 286. They do not however any of them mention the substitution of the new page for the fly-leaf which probably originally preceded the list of Vitae in P, as at present in B. To the significance of this in removing possible evidence of owners previous to Manetti, I have already referred.

merely repeat in the margin words or phrases from the adjacent text, especially names of Greek or Latin writers, few of which are allowed to pass without this tribute. But he is also interested in such trivial items as *vini avidus* or *cupidus* or *appetens, terre motus, apoplexia, venatibus, se exercuit*, etc. etc. Scarcely a page is without one or more of these; one example is shown on pl. I, no. 8[a], *Cur alexander nomen accepit.* This hand, everywhere inelegant and using a thick black ink, also appears in the names of the emperors written in the middle of the upper margin of a number of folios, imitating the practice of P[3] as described above, but in either an ugly cursive style, e. g. *Alex(ande)r* on f. 103, or in irregular capitals, which imitate roughly the style of the rubrics of the original scribe, e. g. *Pertinax* on f. 49. Furthermore, he numbered the folios in the upper right-hand corner[1], and divided the text into chapters as they now appear in the editions, by writing the numbers of them in the margins close to the edge of the text (cf. pl. I, no. 8[a] and II, nos. 1 and 3; in the last the same figures occur as in the near-by note). Apart from his contributions to the rearrangement of the disordered parts, the most interesting thing about the fifth corrector of P is his identity with Manetti, whose possession of the codex in the first half or middle of the 15[th] century (he died in 1457), furnishes another link in its history, and another chronological point of departure for the grouping of the later MSS.

The next corrector, P[6], is even more important for this purpose, in that he contributed the words written in the lacunae in the lives of Valeriani Duo and Gallieni Duo, which our modern editors print, while realizing their lack of authority. For they merely serve to make a possible context, and fall very far short of filling the spaces left vacant by the scribe of P, who obviously either reproduced scrupulously the gaps in his archetype or represented the exact space covered by portions of its text which had become unreadable. This corrector also attempted to imitate in size and style the ductus of the scribe of P, but is too far removed from him in date to have met with much success. Peter however attributes this work to P[2], an attribution which is refuted not alone by the difference palaeographically between the hands, but also by the condition of the younger MSS. Mommsen's correspondent (l. c., p. 287), more correctly than Peter, placed this corrector at the turn of

[1] In the lower corner of one or two folios in P there are visible remains of the original numbering of the quaternia in the red-brown ink of the scribe. Nearly everywhere however all traces of this have been removed by the trimming of the leaves for the present binding.

the 15th to the 16th century, and corrected the errors of Peter's report with sufficient accuracy to arrive at the most important part of the truth then sought, namely that P had originally the same readings in these places which B now shows.[1]

P^6 also contributed considerable text emendation, especially in the first biography, and in the neighborhood of the gaps, together with some scattered bits elsewhere. The change by this hand in the Vita Hadriani (see pl. I, no. 24, *virum* in l. 3, and *usqz ad re-*, l. 8) were regularly written in erasures, which more or less completely removed the original writing, so that in some cases it is necessary to ascertain this from B. Curiously enough however in a number of cases the reading of P^6 in these erasures is the same as the original, suggesting that at these points there may have been changes by previous correctors which the sixth hand rejected, restoring the original. Often sufficient of this remains to confirm the evidence of B (and of Paris. 5816) as to what P^1 wrote. The corrector attempts to make these changes inconspicuous by imitating the ductus of the scribe, and it is probably due to this that so many of them have gone unreported, especially where the reading is the same as P^1.[2] In cases where it is different, Peter either does not report the change, or reports it as "P in rasura"[3]; or accredits it now to P^{24}, now to P^{35}.

Five marginal notes on f. 2, the first page of text in P, written in a running hand in which the letters are linked, show the informal style of this corrector (see pl. I, no. 24). If these are compared with the more formal hand of the lacunae (see pl. III, col. 1) and with the text corrections, the unity of the hand will be apparent (note particularly the

[1] The discussion of Hohl's exposition of these lacunae, and the value which they thereby assume as criteria for the whole question of the unity of the manuscript tradition, will be deferred till later in this paper.

[2] Such are: I, 3, 7 had*riano*; 6, 11 am*icit*ia; 6, 15 quo*s* (*s* added above) *postea*; 10, 17 *fecit*; 13, 9 *qui barbaros*; 15, 24 *mutil*are.

[3] No change is reported for the following: I, 5, 13 and 15 *atqz* (P^1 had *adqz*); 5, 14 *quando* (P^1 had *quanto*); 6, 18 *eum* (P^1: *cum*); 11, 13 *petebat* (P^1: *putebat*); 13, 14 *morosam* (P^1: *murosam*); 17, 19 *catacaimos* (P^1: *catacannos*).

Reported as P, or P "in ras.", are the following; I, 3, 5 *italiam*; 3, 6 *commemorat*; 3, 19 *usqz ad re*prehensionen; 4, 4 *hec*; 4, 14 *ueneficia*; 5, 7 *dicit*; 5, 9 *ar// culeio*; 5, 13 dac*i*cum; 6, 7 defũcto; 7, 14 loque*re*tur; 8, 11 maur*i*taniae; 13, 1 *essent et eorum*; 19, 14 par*ieti* (probably also P^1); 23, 19 mesopotam*iis*. Of those which actually involve a change from P^1, all but seven are adopted in Peter's text.

[4] E. g. I, 8, 16 d*ari* /a/ senatu; (by implication) 8, 22 *al' res p.*; 9, 3 maur*i*tan*iae*; 15, 26 fulm*en*; of these, two are adopted in the text of the last edition.

[5] So I, 3, 14 *uirum*; 4, 18 u*i*rgilianas; 9, 16 ornat*us*; 10, 29 *principes*; 11, 6 displicer*e* uidisset; 15, 26 uictimas; 23, 4 *colafum daret et diceret*. Three of these appear in Peter's text.

correction in the words of the text *usqz ad re(prehensionem)*, in the last line of pl. I, no. 24, and the same words, less formally written, in the nearby marginal note). No other notes by this corrector appear in the margins of P, but possibly a single word here and there is by him, and one or two variants. The ink used is of a dead black color, easily distinguishable from the scribe's red-brown ink.

The nature of the work of this corrector indicates, as in the case of P^3 and P^4, a thinker independent and energetic enough to attempt to restore a possible reading at points where the tradition has suffered the greatest losses, and where his predecessors made no effort at improvement. And his corrections in the text, though usually minor ones, have been such that they, as well as the additions in the lacunae, have nearly all been accepted by the editors. He belongs, judging from the style of writing, to the latter half of the 15th century, and was doubtless in possession of the codex after Manetti's death in 1457, and prior to the publication of M. in 1475, for his work appears there (see below, appendix III, for the relation of the editio princeps to the younger MSS and the correctors of P). I hesitate to strain the credulity of my readers by adding another great name to the already imposing list of P's correctors, and I have in this case little evidence to offer except a close similarity in the hand-writing and a suitable chronology. I therefore content myself with setting on pl. I, no. 25 a reproduction of the certain autograph of the well-known humanistic scholar, Bishop Bernardo Bembo, showing his book-hand style and also his informal running hand[1], both of which, though in some details of execution different from the writing of P^6, yet show a general similarity which is very striking. Perhaps this identification may gain some support from the fact that a number of MS books from Petrarch's library did find their way into the possession of the elder Bembo. Of the seven listed by De Nolhac as having been Petrarch's, and now in the Vatican (P. et l'H., I, p. 114), five were once also part of the library of Bembo, later passing into the collection of Fulvio Orsini, thence to the Vatican.[2] Could this identification be proved for P^6, our Palatine codex would be a sixth to add to this list. Possibly the matter can be brought no nearer certainty than this, but the date, as conjectured from the hand itself, and as limited by the dates 1457 on the one hand, and 1470 on the other[3], is entirely congruous with this

[1] A fascimile of the hand of Bernardo Bembo may also be seen in De Nolhac's La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini, pl. IV.

[2] See Bibl. de F. O. pp. 325 and 326.

[3] The terminus ante quem for P^6 in the lacunae is set even five years earlier than the publication of the princeps by the date 1470, added in the sub-

possibility, for the elder Bembo had a long life (born 1433, died 1519), and may well have been active in such interests in the years preceding the publication of the first printed edition.

We come finally to the last hand that appears on the pages of P, a very small, modern-looking, running hand, which used a dark reddish ink, wrote a few variants in the early part of the codex, and was probably not active after the first biography.[1] These changes are rejected by Peter with the exception of one, namely I, 9, 26 *al' traiani* (reported however as a correction and not as a variant), which he attributes to P^2; the rest he assigns to P^3. One or two marginal comments in the early pages are by this seventh corrector, who is interesting and significant chiefly in connection with the question of the relation and chronology of the latest group of younger MSS, in the text of which they appear. They must therefore also antedate the first printed edition.

Thus a long list of correctors in the Palatine codex bears witness to the close study to which the Historia Augusta was subjected from the 9th century down to the time of the printed editions, with probably a period of neglect between the latter half of the 10th and the middle of the 14th century, during which time it doubtless lay somewhere neglected and forgotten, till the zeal of the "first humanist" for recovering pagan authors again brought it to the light. Perhaps even this gap in its history may be bridged, following some uncertain clues. For several circumstances, toward the end of this period of neglect, point to the existence of an exemplar of this collection at Verona. The work is several times cited in the Historia Imperialis composed by Giovanni de Matociis, mansionary priest attached to the Cathedral at Verona between the years 1306 and 1320.[2] Also excerpts from the Historia Augusta

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scription of Vat. 1901, which Hohl has shown to be a copy from Ricc. 551, and not from P directly. This MS contains in its text the additions in the lacunae of P^6, taken by its scribe from the Riccardianus, where the same additions had been made by a later corrector — see below, where the matter of the lacunae in all the MSS is discussed together.

[1] The changes by P^7 are as follows: I, 4, 9 *in* added before *Germaniam*; 9, 1 the sign ⁊ above *(re)gis*, i. e. to read *rerum*, not reported by Peter but adopted by the interpolated group; 9, 19 excusa*ns*; 9, 16 *al' traiani*; 10, 9 *al' pessimis*; 11, 9 nixus; 13, 9 *ut* to replace *qui* before *barbaros*; 19, 15 *al' accuratissimus*; 28, 28 *ob hec* (not *hoc*, as reported by Peter) added after *putant*; 31, 14 *al' petiuerit*. Marginal notes besides those on f. 2 mentioned above, occur on f. 5v, *humillimam*; f. 7 *litterarum studiosissimus*.

[2] *cf.* Sabbadini, Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci ne' Secoli XIV e XV, Florence, 1905, p. 2, and n. 5.

occur in the so-called Flores Moralium Autoritatum, contained in a codex still in the library of the Cathedral of Verona[1], which was transcribed in the year 1329 from various MSS which must at that time have been accessible in Verona, probably forming part of the ancient Biblioteca Capitolare itself. For this library, which is know to have contained a rich store of classical authors, dates from as early as the middle of the 9th century.[2] It is not improbable that our Palatine codex is the exemplar from which these citations were made, and that it remained in this library until its acquisition by Petrarch.

To this theory the following circumstances seem to give support. We find that Gulielmo da Pastrengo, who makes numerous references to our imperial biographies in an historical work entitled De Originibus Rerum,[3] lived at Verona (d. 1363), and was a friend, correspondent, and fellow bibliophile of Petrarch, through whom, if not through the two literary sources just cited, the great humanist, who was eagerly searching for exemplars of the pagan Latin writers, might easily have learned of the presence of a codex containing the Historia Augusta at Verona. We know that Petrarch visited that city as early as the year 1345, when he made with his own hand his famous copy of Cicero's letters "ad Atticum". Nothing is more probable than that he also at that time had access to P, and, it would seem, in some way got it into his own possession.[4] It is not easy to explain how this could have been done, but the dispersal of the books belonging to the Biblioteca

[1] *ibid.*; I examined this codex with the hope of getting direct evidence as to the archetype of the excerpts, but found that those from the Historia Augusta were so short and fragmentary, and chosen so at random in regard to content and sequence of parts, that no certain evidence as to their source could be obtained.

[2] *ib.* p. 7, n. 23.

[3] *ib.* pp. 7, 15 and 21.

[4] The amount of work actually done by Petrarch in P, as I have outlined it above, is far too great to have been accomplished by him during a brief stay at Verona — "fuggevolmente", as Sabbadini suggests (p. 15), whose chief objection to the actual possession of P by Petrarch is that his copy, Par. 5816, was made at Verona and not at Milan, where he was at that time. The fact that after the copy was made, Petrarch recorded no further work in P, may point to the latter's having passed out of his possession after this time. At least we have no record of its whereabouts until its acquisition by Coluccio. The further argument put forth by Sabbadini (p. 22) against the identification of Petrarch as the author of the marginal commentary in P, namely that a note on f. 6 shows acquaintance with the Odyssey, whereas Petrarch did not obtain his Latin version of that epic till 1367, is surely not cogent enough to outweigh the evidence which I have presented above in favor of the identification. For it is not difficult to conceive of Petrarch's having some acquaintance with the Odyssey before he had a copy of his own.

Capitulare we know had begun as early as the 14th century. If this is true, then the Palatine is the exemplar which lay so long at Verona, and which is the source of all the acquaintance with the Historia Augusta of which we have evidence in Italy before Petrarch's time. As far as the rival claims of any other exemplar are concerned, there are only two of whose exsitence at that time we are aware. One, the early Bamberg copy of P, bears no evidence which would make its presence in Verona at this early time at all probable (see Appendix II). The other, the archetype from which Sedulius Scottus made the Excerpta Cusana in the middle of the 9th century (see Appendix I), disappeared utterly and we have no knowledge of it after that time. But as part of the library of books at Lüttich (Liége), it probably remained in Germany at least until the dispersal of that collection began; and this certainly did not take place till after the death of Nicolaus of Cues, i. e. after the 12th century. And it is unlikely that it found its way at that time to Verona.

As for the time when P became part of the Verona library, it would seem a reasonable supposition that it was transcribed for this purpose, its own date being so close to that of the founding of this collection; but if the assumption is correct that B originated from Fulda[1], the temptation is strong to connect P more closely than has been done with the archetype of the Exc. Cus.[2], and to believe that it was not carried to Italy until after the first copy had been transcribed from it. That P was written in a pure Caroline minuscle, without the usual modifications observable in German examples of this style, is no argument against this theory, for scribes travelled even at that early period; as is exemplified by the insular script of B itself, which certainly was not written in the British Isles.

We know at least that the Palatine codex remained in Italy long enough to pass through the hands of the series of private owners which we have traced, all of whom recorded their work on its pages prior to the time of publication of the princeps, 1475. Within this period it also served as source of all the minor MSS which we possess, as I shall shortly show. It was not until much later that it was taken to Germany, and became part of the Palatine collection, being probably among the books brought from Italy and added to that collection by Ulrich Fugger in 1587, and must have returned to Italy when the whole Pala-

[1] Offered by Traube, see Hohl, p. 259, n. 1.
[2] Cf. id. p. 263, n. 1.

tine library was presented by Maximilian to Pope Gregory in 1623.[1] Since Gregory died before the collection reached Rome, it was received by his successor, Urban VIII, a member of the Barbarini family, whose coat of arms, distinguished by the famous "Barbarini bees", appears on the present binding of green and white vellum. From this fact it seems likely that this was one of the books from which, according to the story, Leo Allatinus, to whom had been entrusted the transportation of the Palatine library to Rome, stripped off the binding in order to lighten the load. But at least the fly-leaf which bears the ex libris of Manetti, remains over from the previous binding.

But my exposition of the work of P's correctors is incomplete without an account of their successive efforts at making the correct restoration of the disarranged portions of the text, which I think can be better understood if discussed all together than if the various steps in the process are treated separately, as Hohl has done. For in that way, the unity of the various hands is lost sight of and the extent of the work of each is ill defined. Since, as I shall shortly show, an acquaintance with these is absolutely essential for a correct understanding of the chronology and relation of the various younger MSS, I shall have to go into the matter in considerable detail. The facts then are these:

In the archetype at the time when P was copied, three portions of the text had been shifted from their original positions. Two of them, which probably consisted originally of a quaternion each, though they cover in P about five folios each,[2] had been interchanged, so that the first one occupied the place which belonged to the second, and the second was inserted in the codex at a point considerably after the place where it really belonged. The third misplaced portion, which probably covered originally a single folio and in P occupies about a page and a quarter, had strayed to a place two folios ahead of the point where it should have been inserted. The first of the two longer passages, which I shall call for convenience A, contains the part of the text of the Vita Alexandri Severi which extends in the last edition from I, 281, 15 *fecisset et templa reliqua deserenda* (in P f. 120), through the words *apud populum lectis uario tempore cum etiam de Isauria*, I, 292, 8 (f. 125);

[1] See H. Stevenson, Codices manuscripti Palat. Graeci Bibl. Vat., Rome, 1885, p. 23 ff.

[2] Taking the shortest of these, which must have been contained in an even folio of the archetype and covers one and one quarter pages in P, as a unit, one quaternion of the archetype would have contained just about the amount of text covered by the five folios in each of the larger passages.

the other, which I shall call B, is a part of the biography of the Duo Maximini, which begins with the words *comperit Alexandrum*, II, 6, 18 (f. 144), and ends with *omnes qui mecum*, II, 17, 17 (f. 148). Passage A was inserted in the biography of the Duo Maximini after the words *Occiso Heliogabalo ubi primum*, II, 6, 18, at just the point where passage B should have come, while this in its turn strayed to a point in the Vita Maximini et Balbini after the words *eius homines uulgares*, II, 63, 6 (f. 144). The third and shorter passage, C, containing part of the last group of biographies in the collection, which begins *Augustum appellauerunt*, II, 239, 22 (f. 212) and continues through the words *dicebat nullam aliam*, 241, 19 (f. 212^{v}) was falsely inserted after the words *quae illius felicitas*, 233, 4. Such is the order which the scribe of P took over from the archetype. The restoration of the last passage was a comparatively easy matter, but the difficulty involved in the correct reconstruction of the text for the two longer passages A and B was very great; for not only had the correct points of insertion of the strayed parts to be determined, but also the exact limits of each. And the matter was much complicated by the fact that A and B had been interchanged and so were both involved in one problem. The acumen of more than one mind was concentrated on this problem before the correct solution was reached.

There is clear evidence that even the very early corrector P^{2} not only perceived the confusion, but also made some attempts at a reconstruction, though just how far these went, is uncertain. For of the notes undoubtedly written by him in the margins near the parts of the text involved, several were subsequently erased. For example, it is evident that when P^{3} wrote his note on f. 106, *Require sequentia* etc. (see pl. II, no. 1), he accommodated it to the space around some writing already there, and a little below continued it over the present wide gap, which shows, even in the photograph, traces of an extended erasure, and at the time when P^{3} wrote his note, must have been filled with writing. It is probable that both these spaces contained notes by P^{2}, who also wrote the sign $\overline{\text{R}}$, which is still visible above the note written by a later hand, reading *Ignoras*, etc. Also under the last seven lines of the upper note in the left margin of no. 3, an erasure is still visible, which in this case was probably made by P^{3} himself, in order to make way for his own extended note, for which, since he had written the note below the line first, he had limited space, as the crowded look of the writing and the frequent use of abbreviations indicate. In the left margins of nos. 3 and 5 on the same plate there is a sign ϟ

by P², by which he probably intended to mark the beginnings of passages A and B respectively. And three notes still remain to testify to the interest of the very early corrector in this matter; one is at the beginning of the life of Alexander Severus (see pl. I, no. 3), *Hec istoria incorrecta multa et sollerti emendatione indiget,* another is on f. 120 (pl. II, no. 3), very near the right point of insertion of passage A, *Hic spero minus* with the sign ⸮ in P²'s ink. The third is in the margin of f. 110, opposite AS 28, 6, reading *de vita Aleandri mperatoris.* In connection with passage C also he probably gave some direction, for it is plain that part of the present note in the margin of f. 212 (pl. I, no. 18), was written over an erasure, while a second erasure is visible below, and the remnant of a sign to the left shows the red-brown ink of P². It seems not unlikely that the next corrector, P³, was to no small extent assisted in his attempts at restoring a correct order by these notes of his predecessor, who seems to have come at least very near to discovering the beginnings of the three misplaced passages, though there is no indication that he found the terminations of them or the correct points where they should be inserted. And we might exspect to see some observance of his suggestions, whatever they were, in any copy made from P after P² and before the more elaborate scheme of reconstruction of the third corrector was worked out in the margins of P. But this condition is found in no MS. which exists, not even in Vat. 1899, which, Hohl asserts, was copied during this interval. But one argument for this early date Hohl finds in the fact that this latter codex does not show signs of acquaintance even with what he calls the "erste Schicht" of the attempts at reconstructing order; by which he does not mean the early suggestions, which, as I have shown, must have been made by P², but he says (p. 270) that it consists, first of the note on f. 106, directing the insertion of the first shifted passage at far too early a point in the codex; and second, of the disregard of the disturbance in the v. Cari. The last, being a negative condition, proves nothing, and one glance at this note on pl. II, no. 1 shows it to be an inseparable part of the series written by P³. It is hard to see how anyone could read these through, tied together as they are by the series of signs which indicate definitely their sequence, and not realize the unity of the scheme of which the note cited forms the introduction.

We shall then have to eliminate Hohl's "first stage", and find the next efforts at reconstruction which were recorded in P, in the series of notes by the third corrector, just referred to, all of which are shown on pl. I. Passage A he proposes to insert before the word *Negotia* on

f. 106 (I, 258, 25, see no. 1), and writes the following note in the margin with the sign ⊗ *Require sequentia ubi est signum supra hic notatum in uita Maximini. Et incipit sic. Occiso heliogabalo. etc. Require infra XV. carta. et dura (t) V cartis usque ad* ✠ *ubi de gordianis* (wide erasure) *agitur. et incipit passus ille ubi* ✠ *est signata sic. Vario tempore etc.* The sign ⊗ is on f. 120 (no. 3) where below a line drawn across the margin, is the note: *Ista inserantur in uita* (*sic*) *alexandri per quinque cartas usque ad locum ubi est* ✠ *nigra et hoc signum* ⸸ *ubi de maximinis ex tunc agitur.* The sign ✠ occurs on f. 125 (no. 4) with a line dividing the text before the words *uario tempore* etc., and a note reading: *ab hinc reuertendum est ad uitam* ⊗ *alexandri. Require retro XIX. carta et incipit Negotia etc.* That is, P^3 finds the beginning of A before the words *occiso Heliogabalo ubi primum* instead of immediately after them, as he should, and he finds the end of the passage before instead of after the words *uario tempore cum etiam de Isauria.* Furthermore, he fails to find the correct point of insertion for A, and puts it before *Negotia,* etc. on f. 106, i. e. at I, 258, 25, much too early in the codex. This order is exactly what appears in Petrarch's copy, Paris 5816, as we should exspect.

Having failed to find the correct beginning and ending of A, P^3 naturally also fails to determine correctly the limits of B and the correct place for its insertion. His notes concerning B are as follows: On f. 120 (no. 3) above the division line in the margin he writes: *Vitam maximini et filii eius ualde confusam et cum grandi labore reduc*(*tam*) *ad semitam ueritatis sic collige. Post finem infra signatum. languoribus occupatus est. procede ad uitam maximi pupieni et balbini. require infra. XXV. carta quasi circa principium ubi est signum* ⁘ *et incipit. Vbi comperit alexandrum etc. et durat per quattuor cartas et dimidiam et parum usque ad locum illum, hiis gestis celebratisque. ubi est hoc signum* ✠ *Deinde reuertere retro ad uitam istam maximini ubi est hoc signum* ⸸ *per quinque cartas in principio sexte ubi incipit Vario tempore cum etiam de ysauria etc. et continua usque ad finem.* The sign ⁘ is in the left margin of f. 144 (no. 5) with the following note: *Ab hinc habetur uita maximini et durat per cartas infra quattuor et dimidiam et paulo infra usque ad signum* ✠ *ad quod signum reuertere ad uitam maximini quasi ad principium et insere ista quae secuntur continuate, et postea subnecte: Vario tempore ubi est signum* ⸸. A red line across the page divides after *homines uulgares* (II, 63, 6) and before *comperit alex.* (II, 6, 19), and at the left end of it is the title *Maximinus* (cf. similar titles on nos. 3 and 6). The sign ✠ occurs on f. 148^v (see no. 6) opposite a

dividing line which cuts the text before the words *His gestis celebratisque,* and marks the end of passage B after the words *nomine nuncuparunt* (II, 63, 11). The sign ⸸ occurs on f. 125 (no. 4) accompanying a note below the line in the margin which reads: *ab hinc de uita Gordianorum et Maximini, Julij capitolini.* Further directions in regard to the end of passage B are given in the lower note on f. 144 (no. 5): *hic deficit de pupieno, sed require infra V carta, hiis gestis celebratisque etc. ubi inuenies hoc signum* ❀. The sign occurs on f. 148^v (no. 6) where below the division-line in the right margin is the title *Maximus balbinus et tertius gordianus Julij capitolini;* and in the left margin is this note: *Sequitur uita Maximi pupieni et balbini quae continuatur illi loco ubi in fine scriptum est. Timebant enim seueritatem eius homines uulgares. Require retro quinta carta circa principium. et sic a modo continua totam ystoriam.*

The purport of this is that P^3 finds the correct beginning of B, but fails to find the correct termination, placing it after *nuncuparunt* on the upper part of f. 148^v, instead of after the words *omnes qui mecum* on the lower part of f. 148, where it really belongs. This leads to further errors in regard to the point of insertion of B and its connection with the body of the text. Having included the words *occiso Heliogabalo ubi primum* in the beginning of passage A, he has lost the connecting link with the body of the text and so invents a connection, writing the words (which Peter reports for M only) *Vbi uero Maximinus* above *comperit Alex.* (see no. 5). Similarly, not realizing that passage B should close with the words *qui mecum* (f. 148), the verb for which is *sentiunt,* which in the codex comes after the correct end of passage A, he supplied a verb *sunt,* which he wrote above *mecum.* His direction is then to read after *occupatus est* (II, 6, 18) *Vbi uero Maximinus comperit Alex* etc. through the words *qui mecum* (II, 17, 17) *sunt,* and then *quam et senatui acceptissimam* (II, 63, 6) through *nomine nuncuparunt* (63, 12), then *Vario tempore cum etiam de Isauria* (I, 292, 7) *sentiunt et Gordianos* (II, 17, 17); then *His gestis celebratisque* to the end of Maximinus et Balbinus. This is exactly the arrangement which exists in Paris. 5816.

The misplacement of the short passage C seems to have been observed by Petrarch while studying the Palatine codex, as a marginal comment, cited by Hohl (p. 266), indicates, but probably whatever P^2 had written concerning the matter seemed to him to need no correction. At any rate he wrote no directions in P for rearrangement (the note at present in the margin of f. 212 is by a later hand, as I have said), and the

order of P was followed by the scribe of the Paris copy. In the latter codex, however, there are notes in the hand of Petrarch which give directions for the requisite changes.[1]

So far did the third corrector of P bring the matter toward the correct solution. The next corrector, P^4, advanced it much further, in that he determined the proper point of insertion of passage B, though he failed to get its termination. For passage A also he is helpful in finding the correct beginning, and comes considerably nearer to finding the point where it should be inserted. But he did not find the right termination, and in a way added to the confusion. He deleted $P^{3'}$s note on f. 106 (pl. II, no. 1) by drawing a line across it, and in the space which he evidently made for himself by erasing some former writing by P^2, as we have said, he wrote the words *Ignoras quid dicas nam nil hic deficit sed infra.* The word *infra,* accompanied by the sign II, occurs in the margin of f. 115^v (no. 2) followed by the note: (?) ∧ *et templa reliqua deserenda etc. usque apud populum lectis/ omnibus nominibus ornatus est Post hec cum ingenti etc.* The sign of omission just preceding this note and a trace of some writing above it, of which the rest was removed when the page was trimmed for the present binding (see no. 2, and a similar loss in nos. 1, 3 and 4), suggest that P^4 on second thought included another word at the beginning of the passage he was citing, probably the word *fecisset;* for the sign II is repeated over that word on f. 120 and also again in the left margin (see no. 3), though the dividing-line, as rearranged by P^4, cuts the text before *fecisset.* Thus he discovers the correct beginning of passage A, but proposes to insert it, according to his sign ∧, in the text of no. 2, after the word *uenisset,* two words too late. Furthermore a second note on f. 115^v, accompanied by the sign ○–, reads *Vade ad paginam precedentem et ibi penes* (?) *hos uersus ubi est signum* ○– *usque ad post etc.;* the sign is in the near-by text over *his uero* and again on the recto of f. 115 after the word *male,* I, 280, 19. Following these directions one would read the Vita Alexandri through *si male,* I, 280, 19, then insert the text of 292, 9 to 22,

[1] In Paris. 5816 on f. 108 in the margin opposite the text of II, 233, 4, a note with the sign ·~ (which appears also in the text over the word *felicitas*) reads *Vade ad finem proxime sequentis columne.* At the point indicated, in the margin with the same sign, is another note reading *Redi ad medium precedentis columne,* and the sign is put in the text over the word *qui,* for division was, by a slip, made after the word *fuit* instead of before it. According to these directions the misplaced passage is defined and cut out from the order it had in P, but the direction as to where it should be inserted, is lacking. So that a scribe copying the Paris codex, would naturally omit the displaced portion altogether, as we see happened in Vat. 5301 (cf. Hohl, p. 267), and in M.

His uero — ducebat, and then resuming 280, 20 *praeter condemnationem* etc. continue to 281, 15; where, according to the first note on f. 115ᵛ, after *omnes Christianos futuros si id (optate uenisset)*, he would read *(fecisset?) et templa reliqua deserenda* etc., as far as *apud populum lectis*, then introducing the words which follow *uenisset* in P, namely *omnibus nominibus est ornatus*, and omitting the part before transferred, i. e. 292, 9 to 22, continue *Post hec* etc. to the end of of the Vita Alexandri. This remarkable arrangement, with the omission however of the word *fecisset*, is followed exactly in the copy of P made next after P⁴, namely Ricc. 551.

After P⁴ has succeeded in finding the right beginning of passage A, he is in a position to understand better the connection of passage B with the body of the text. In the left margin of f. 120 (no. 3) with the sign ⁜ he writes the words *infra, comperit folio XXV, ad signum* ⁜; this sign is over the word *primum* in the near-by text (immediately before the new division-line with which P⁴ marked the beginning of A), and again on f. 144 (no. 5) in the left margin, and also in the text over the word *comperit*, where it partly obscures the word *uō* of P³'s supplementary *Vbi uero Maximinus*, which he evidently thereby rejects. That is, P⁴ would read as in the last edition at II, 6, 18, and this is also the reading of Ricc. 551 as well as of other later copies of P, namely Vat. 1902, Urb. 414, and the latest or Σ group.[1] But he fails to improve on P³'s determination of the ending of B, as is shown by his note with the sign ○+ on the upper margin of f. 148ᵛ (no. 6), *uade superius ad uitam maximini et sequere Vario etc. require hoc signum* ○+. The sign occurs above *nuncuparunt* in the neighboring text, and again on f. 125 (no. 4) above *uario tempore*. P⁴ thus merely corroborates P³ at this point, so that we find Ricc. 551 with the same arrangement as Paris. 5816.

It remained for the fifth corrector of P, namely Manetti, to define

[1] Hohl is not quite accurate in his remark about this place (p. 277), that "in the rest, Ricc. corresponds to that stage of reconstruction in P, the effect of which we were able to determine in Paris. 5816." For Ricc. exhibits, in regard to passage B also, the improvements made by P⁴, namely in having the correct arrangement at II, 6, 18.

The additional changes suggested by the corrector of Ricc., by which Hohl proves the parentship of that codex to the rest of the group (p. 278 ff.), are of course not concerned here. But certain other minor changes which Poggio made in the order of the text in Ricc. 551 (e. g. in AS 44, in accordance with a sign by P², occurring over *stemma* in sec. 3 and *salaria*, in sec. 4; and again in 48 and 49 following a sign in P after *sequeretur* and opposite *Dexippus*), were also followed by Vat. 1901 and the rest.

the correct terminations of the two passages A and B. The first he indicated by making a division-line before *sentiunt* on f. 125 (no. 4), though he did not remove the former line before *uario tempore*,[1] which had been made by P[3] and accepted by P[4], and he also added a note in the left margin of f. 115[v] (no. 2), reading *Vide sequentia foliis ab isto quattuor*, probably to make more definite P[4]'s vague *"infra"*.[2]

But in regard to the point of insertion of A, Manetti does not improve on the arrangement of P[4]. This is however accomplished in Vat. 1902, which has exactly the reading of Peter's text at I, 281, 15, i. e. *si id fecisset et templa reliqua deserenda.*[3] This completes the solution of the problem for passage A. For passage B, Manetti accepted the beginning (which had been found by P[3]) and the point of insertion (which had been correctly ascertained by P[4]), as is indicated by a note in the upper margin of f. 120 (no. 3) with a sign ⸗, reading *Comperit alexandrum. Vade ad 144* (the sign is repeated in the text over P[4] 's division line before *fecisset*); and also above the words *Occiso he(liogabalo)* on the same page in P, he wrote *Vide seq. pag. 144.* But the finding of the right ending of B is the final service of Manetti, which he indicated by making a division line between *mecum* and *quam et senatui* near the bottom of f. 148, changing also P[3] 's addition above *mecum* from *sūt* (sic) to *sētūnt* (sic), and adding *et gordianos id est 125*;[4] in the margin below he wrote *Require 125*, while in the margin of f. 144 (no. 5) he wrote the words with which the main body of the text

[1] In consequence of this a later copyist of P might be led either to adopt Manetti's termination, as appears in the latest or interpolated group (so that they read exactly as Peter's text at I, 292, 7—8, except that they have the senseless *de hiis aveia* for P's *deisauria*), or to omit altogether the words between the two lines, as happened in the case of Vat. 1902 and Urb. 414, the former also omitting the words *optatae uenisset.*

[2] Also in the upper margin of the same page he cited the opening words of AS 44, which follow shortly after the beginning of passage A: *In iocis dulcissimus fuit et reliqua*, adding *multum defuit.* This is interesting in view of the fact that Manetti does not concern himself much with the text outside of the restoration of order (cf. Hohl, p. 286, no. 3); Peter also has indicated in his text that the opening sections of this chapter break the tenor of the narrative.

[3] The MSS. of the Σ group show the same as Vat. 1902, except that they have *fecissent*, omit *et*, and have *disserenda.* Urb. 414 agrees with Ricc. 551, i. e. it follows the directions of P[4], and retains *optatae uenisset* while omitting the first words of A, *fecisset et* (cf. also Hohl, p. 284).

[4] The letter *e* was written on top of the *u* of P[3] 's *sūt*, and *-ūnt* added, probably carelessly intended as an abbreviation of *sentiunt* (Petrarch used this form of virgula very freely and with a variety of meanings; cf. *rēg* (*regis*) in p. 25 n. 1); but Hohl thinks it intended for *secuntur*, and the scribe of Urb. 414 made of it *suntiunt.* Manetti, having numbered the folios, is the first to make explicit reference to pages.

should be resumed after *homines vulgares* (II, 63, 6), i. e. *quam senatui acceptissimam id a 148.* By following these directions, the reading of Peter's text may be obtained at II, 17, 17 (Max. 18,2) and at II, 63, 6 (MB. 8, 2); and this is what both Urb. 414 and the MSS. of the Σ group show. The scribe of Vat. 1902 seems not to have understood Manetti's directions on f. 148, for it shows a condition at these points similar to that of Ricc. 551 (see also Hohl, p. 285); but it is certain that these changes of P^5 were already in P at the time of the copying of the Vatican codex, for it contains in its text the work of the sixth corrector also.

The correct rearrangement of the short passage C is indicated in P by the fourth corrector in a note in the margin of f. 212 (pl. I, no. 18), to which he may not improbably have been led by the writing of P^2 at this point, which he removed to make room for his own by an erasure, of which, as I have said above, there are indications under the second and third lines of P^4 's note and also beneath it, while the remnant of a sign below to the right still shows the ink of P^2 (cf. the procedure of P^4 on f. 106). He may also have been influenced by the restoration suggested by Petrarch in Paris. 5816, above alluded to, if we are right in the supposition that P^4 had access to Petrarch's copy also (see p. 46 n. 1).

Thus, though the service of restoring the correct order of the misplaced portions of the text has been accredited to the editor of the last edition,[1] it was actually worked out on the pages of P itself,[2] with the exception of the one detail which was supplied by one of the copies of P, Vat. 1902, made after the work of all its correctors had been done. So that if the successive suggestions made in the margins of P were carefully followed, and if the final step, lacking there, were obtained from the Vatican codex, the true order could be obtained, and we need not be surprised to find this actually accomplished in the latest or interpolated group of MSS., whose close relation to Vat. 1902 I shall presently show. Certainly in view of what has been disclosed by our

[1] By Dessau (l. c. p. 402): „Die Ordnung völlig wiederhergestellt zu haben ist ein Verdienst Peters (hist. crit. script. h. Aug. S. 30 ff.)".

[2] This is rocognized by Hohl (p. 286), who makes a much better exposition of the whole matter than has heretofore been attempted (see pp. 263 ff. and 278 ff.), but he did not in every instance identify the hands of the correctors accurately, and therefore failed in some instances to discover the correct relation of the younger MSS. to P. And while recognizing that the correct mode of arriving at this is to proceed from the condition of P to that exhibited by the younger MSS. (cf. p. 284, n. 4), unfortunately he did not himself follow this plan consistently.

review of the successive contributions to this problem of P 's correctors, the circumstance that the MSS. of the Σ group have the correct order of the misplaced portions of text, is no evidence by itself of their independence of P. On the contrary, their relation to P in this respect is closely analogous to that of Urb. 414 and Vat. 1902, but advanced a step further, in that Manetti's directions are better understood. But we are anticipating in drawing this conclusion as to the relation of the Σ family to P here, for the burden of proof will have to rest on the question of the date of the earliest representative of the group. And the chronological position of this can be determined only by studying its relation to the correctors of P. But let us first apply this criterion in determining the chronological relation of the earlier MSS. to the Palatine.

First the codex Bambergensis, being copied from P before any of its independent correctors worked there, has exactly the original condition of P. This is also true of the Excerpta Palatina, which, as far as evidence can be obtained, contain no changes of P^2. No copy of P, so far as I know, was made in the interim between the 10th century corrector, P^2, and the first corrector of the 14th century, P^3; for no codex which has thus far been reported, shows in the order of its parts the effect of observing the notes which were surely written by P^2 in the margins at the points in the text involved, as any conscientious scribe, who copied P at that time, might well be expected to do.[1] There is then a gap in the succession of copies from P, which corresponds to the long period of neglect indicated by the absence of correctors in P, i. e. between the 10th century, and the middle of the 14th century. The next chronological stage of relation to P is therefore represented by Paris. 5816 (dated 1456), which exhibits in its text everywhere the effects of a faithful acceptance of all of the work of the third corrector in P, in the text as well as in the order of the parts. It also shows much of P^2, but nothing of any corrector later than P^3. The correct relation of Vat. 5301 to the Paris codex, namely that of direct copy, which was suspected by Dessau (p. 409, n. 5) and of which I early assured myself, has been confirmed by Hohl (p. 268), who also discovered (as I already had) that the codex Ambrosianus A 269 infer. which Peter included with the Paris and Vatican MSS. in his Π class, is a direct

[1] The question of the date of Vat. 1899, which Hohl places in the early 14th century because certain additions to the text in P, which he thinks are by a corrector of earlier date than the beginning of the 14th century, are found there, will be discussed below, where the true date of that codex is determined.

copy of the latter. But the important rôle, which Dessau (l. c.) suspected the Paris MS. of playing in the 14th and 15th centuries, is exemplified less "in the multiplication of copies of the Scriptores" than in the circumstance that it, rather than its dependent, Vat. 5301 — as believed by both Dessau and Hohl, following Peter — is the chief basis of the editio princeps (M). The evidence which I discovered for this relation is given in Appendix III, where the whole matter of the princeps is discussed.

The next group of dependents from P, in chronological order not far removed, is Peter's Ψ class, whose parent and most important representative is Ricc. 551, the exemplar of the Historia Augusta copied from P by the hand of Poggio himself. Both in the text and in the arrangement of parts, this MS., as I have shown, mirrors exactly the condition of P after its fourth corrector had done his work. The rest of the group (from which Hohl is right in excluding the two MSS., Vat. 1899 and Urb. 414, as having no proper relation to it whatsoever),[1] were copied from the Riccardianus at various times, even as late as 1470, the date born by Vat. 1901, and without return to the Palatine codex, for none of the work of P 's later correctors appears there.[2]

The remaining minor MSS. which have thus far been shown to be dependent on P, are Vat. 1899 (by Dessau, p. 406f.), Urb. 414, removed by Hohl from Peter's Ψ family, and Vat. 1902, which Hohl declares equally unrelated to the Σ class, in which Peter included it. It is certain that the last two named as well as the first are directly dependent on P, and that they bear a certain close — though not complete — relationship to each other (cf. also Hohl, p. 283 ff.). Of these more is to be said later in their proper chronological order, but first we must investigate, more closely than has yet been done, the relation to P of Vat. 1899, a codex to which an undue importance has been given, first by Peter, who made it the chief representative of his Ψ or contaminated group, and recently by Hohl, who, placing it at a very early date —

[1] Hohl's list of these, which confirms my own, includes three Vatican MSS., nos. 1903 (the best of the group after Ricc. 551), 1900 (very close to the preceding), and 1901 (the latest and poorest), a Paris MS., no. 5817 (also closely allied to Vat. 1903), Laur. 63, 31, and Ottob. 1304, which Hohl thinks the youngest and poorest of the whole group. The Paris codex, which Peter had not himself examined, was sent to Rome for my use, together with no. 5816, by the very great courtesy of the management of the Bibliothèque Nationale, of which I take this opportunity of expressing my grateful recognition.

[2] The condition of the lacunae in the Biographies of the Valeriani and Gallieni in Ricc. 551, which shows that a later corrector went back to P and adopted the additions of P^6 — this before any of the rest of the group had been copied — will be fully discussed later.

i. e. the beginning of the 14th century —, attempts to use it not only in determining the terminus post quem for the corrector who, according to his views, first attempted a reconstruction of order, but also — still more mistakenly — in proving that the MSS. of the Σ or interpolated family contain a tradition independent of P. Dessau showed that the Vatican codex was closely dependent on P, but accepted Peter's idea of contamination in so far as to admit that some "middleman" lay between it and P. In point of fact, all the evidence which Dessau (p. 406) presented for this remoter dependence, is equally good for the establishment of its position as a direct copy. A great deal of evidence, such as Hohl offers in proof of this immediate relation, might be adduced, especially of slavish adherence to P, even where the copyist plainly failed to understand what he was writing.[1] But I will pass on to the more important matter of date. Leaving for the moment the question of the script in which the codex was written, which has had great weight with my predecessors in assigning it to the 14th century,

[1] I will content myself with adding the following striking cases: in G 5, 5 the line *leones — barriunt*, omitted by P^a and supplied in the lower margin by P^b, was included in the text of Vat. 1899 at the end of the page in P, the sign indicating the proper place of insertion being ignored. In H. 20, 10 the reading in Vat. of *numen latore* for *numenclatore* of P is due to the fact that some corrector in P, in erasing a falsely placed word-division, removed also part of the letter *c* (a second hand in Vat. corrected to *nomenclatore*). In AS. 20, 3 the words *consularisuiri* are written thus undivided, and the last two letters are in a ligature, which looks not a little like *in*; the copyist made of this *consulari sui ī*. In H. 25, 3 in *contingit*, there is a tiny blot of ink under the *n* in P, which the scribe of Vat. evidently took to be a point of expunction, for he wrote *contigit*. The early open or Lombard *a*, not infrequent in P, constantly made trouble to this late copyist. Hohl mentions one case, and another may be seen in the senseless *quecerebantur* on pl. III, col. 4, F. One occurring in a correction of P^b in Hel. 6, 5: *uesẹlem*, the copyist stupidly read as *u*, writing *uestulem*. In AP. 9, 9, to remove an open *a* of P^1, P^3 carelessly placed his point under the first stroke only, thus: *tc̣curos*; Vat. 1899 has *tacuros*. Corrections of the various hands are also misunderstood. In PN. 10, 7, P^b corrected thus: *pr̥aelia*; Vat. has *pro helia* (it is a peculiarity of this scribe to use the aspirate in such places). In AS. 10, 5, *commodi* of P^1 was corrected to *commodo* by P^2 by writing *o* above *i*; Vat. has *commodio*. In AS. 3, 3 the addition of P^3, *orationes* (pl. I, no. 11) appears in the Vat. copy as *oratores*; in 68, 3 the addition of the same corrector above *occisis*, namely *hiis malis* (sic), becomes *hij* (end of line) *emalis*; in OM. 11, 4, P^3 made of P^1 's *viderique*, by a quite ambiguous change, *uideri cui*, which Vat. reads as *uideri due* (it does look as much like a *d* as anything else, but this makes nonsense). Likewise a correction by P^4 which was made thus: *adseripꝭest*, appears in the copy in the perfectly senseless *adseripet est*. The stupidity and lack of understanding on the part of the scribe of Vat. 1899 are sufficiently clear from these examples.

let us turn to the much surer criterion of P's correctors; for the terminus post quem which is obtained from the presence of their work in the various copies of P is the only sure and reliable one.

Even with the date which Hohl assigns to Vat. 1899, we may expect to find not only the changes in the text by the earliest corrector of P adopted there, but also some effect of the remarks on the matter of order of the disarranged parts, which, as I have shown, were certainly written by P^2 in the margins near the beginning of the disordered parts of the text. While we do find that many of P^2's changes in the text were adopted by the scribe of Vat. 1899, though by no means all,[1] we find him entirely disregarding the matter of order, simply reproducing the condition of P^1 exactly in this respect.

Similarly we find him, while ignoring the directions concerning order of parts, yet adopting the manifold changes and additions to the text made by the next corrector, P^3, in all the various modifications of his hand-writing; though even here he exercises an arbitrary selection, and rejects not a few.[2] The presence of some of these was observ-

[1] The following instances of the occurrence of P^2's work in Vat. 1899 from the v. Alexandri will suffice: 1, 7 *ciuilia aseuerat* (cf. p. 9, n. 1, and pl. I, no. 5); 21, 7 *instructissimus* and the added *cum*; 36, 2 *necauit*, (made by changing P^1's *-bit* to *-uit*, by writing *v* against the high stroke of *b*, which Vat. tries to reproduce, without understanding, thus: *necab'it*, i. e. making *necaberit*). The two corrections, the discussion of whose source by Peter and Eyssenhardt was quoted in the beginning of this article, namely 61, 5, *euadere*, and 6, *confoderunt*, also reappear in the Vat. copy.

[2] Of the corrections in the formal hand in the text (p. 5, n. 3), all appear in the text of Vat. 1899 (I find I have no report for I, 119, 10; 223, 17; II, 218, 18). In I, 88, 18 the Vat. has *prefecistis* for P^3's *prefecisti*, having retained the final *s* of P^1's *praefectis*, which was only partially erased. Also additions in the formal style are regularly adopted, as e. g. *quasi impera(tor)* and *mater*, of pl. I, nos. 8 and 8a; *Diocletianum*, in no. 18; *oculos*, I, 106, 2, which Peter admits into the text. Of additions in the transitional style, those shown in pl. I, nos. 11, 12, 13, for instance, all appear, though the first is garbled, as I have shown in p. 52, n. 1. Of the archaized additions, beside the added line of Cc. 8, 3, that at the end of the elder Gordianus also appears (I lack information in regard to the third case, *rubrum*, AS. 4, 4). And the great mass of the corrections and additions in the cursive style appear in Vat. 1899, of which, beside those already pointed out on pl. I, no. 8a, and pl. II, nos. 3, 5 and 7 (in the last, Peter's report for M applies also to P^3, which he misreported), the following may serve for evidence: additions some of which Peter attributes to P^3 and adopts in his text, as I, 148, 11 *quem;* II, 6, 7 *diceris* (attributed to Mommsen, but it is in the margin of P after *triginta*, in which place Vat. has it); 18, 18 *(et) Clodium Balbinum* (the sign for *et*, 7, was written was written twice, but Vat., evidently not understanding, omits *et* altogether). Not adopted in Peter's text, but attributed to P^3 and appearing in Vat., are the additions in II, 106, 20 *intrasse domum* after *capta* and *pugione transfodit* after *se*. Additions which Peter does not report at all in P, but which Vat. 1899 adopts from P^3, are I, 118, 27 *per-*

ed by Hohl, as *Diocletianum* in Car. 13, 1 (p. 267, n. 1), and *sunt* (p. 277, n. 3), which P^3 wrote above *mecum* in order to supply a verb for *qui* (cf. my account of this in the rearrangement of passage B). But, having assigned Vat. 1899, on altogether insufficient grounds, to the very early part of the 14th century, he thinks that all of the writing by correctors in P, which reappears in the Vatican codex, must be of earlier date than that. Likewise, on the same basis, he declares that other additions, the most important of which is the added line in Cc. 8, 3, must have originated in the period between the transcription of B and the early part of the 14th century, since they are found in Vat. 1899 (p. 273). He does not specify what the other additions are, nor does he state whether he thinks all these writings are the work of one hand or of several. There is, as I have already shown, a good deal of diversity of style in the additions cited, and the date of the archaized added line is particularly puzzling (although, as I have already shown, they are all in reality by Petrarch); but Hohl apparent-

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tinacem after *filium eius*; 199, 1 *conscribam* after *ex parte*; II, 40, 7 *senatus* before *iussit* (attributed by Peter to M).

But the copyist exercised an arbitrary selection in regard to P^3; for example he adopted one of the names of the *praefecti praetorio* added in P by this corrector, namely *Arrii*, II, 239, 11, but he rejected *Anolinum*, 28, 29. Dessau (p. 411) noted these in Vat. 5301, whither they went from Paris. 5816, where also they were added by Petrarch; the suggestion that the second of these many have been obtained from the Verona MS. of the Acta Sanctorum Firmi et Rustici seems plausible, and confirms the identification of P^3 as Petrarch, who may well have been acquainted with that Verona codex. The copyist ignores also such additions of P^3 as *quiescentes* after *eius*, II, 21, 11 (this was later almost entirely erased) which appears also in Paris. 5816; and *interest* after *humani*, II, 135, 19 (adopted in all but the Σ family, Urb. 414, and Vat. 1902). A good many of P^3 's changes were not understood, but were blunderingly taken over in a senseless form. Some of these have already been given above; others (out of a large number) are: in II, 66, 27, P^3 's cursive *o*, carelessly made to correct *firma* to *forma*, read *ferma*; in 86, 20 and 117, 15 in the words *boues* and *submoueri* a correction of P^1 's *b* to *u*, executed in the same way as in AS 36, 2, cited above, produces in Vat. *bobues* and *submobueri*; in I, 49, 3 *dignitatem* after *imperatoriam* is accepted while *in* after *iam* is disregarded (but this is the condition in a number of other MSS., for the virgula in *iā* obscures the abbreviated *ī*; so in Ricc. 551, the corrector added *ad* in its place, while the Σ family have *in* and replace *dignitatem* by the word *familiam*). In II, 170, 19, P^3 's correction *adiabenicus ad* is taken, but his division-marks cutting *iam* from *ille* are not understood, so that Vat. has *mille* and omits *ia(m)* (but Peter reads P^3 so also, while writing in his text what the corrector really intended). In II, 220, 12, P^3 changed P^1 (which merely needed correct word-division) to *in histhoricis se* (Peter fails to report this correctly); Vat. carelessly makes of this the nonsense, *in his thoricisse*. Examples such as these testify, even more strikingly than those which were correctly interpreted, to the servile copying of P by this scribe.

ly makes no attempt to identify the source of any of them. Indeed he waives the whole question of the identification of P's correctors, beyond warning the reader against putting too much trust in mine (p. 266, n. 1 and p. 267, n. 1)! And the early corrector (or correctors) whom he assumes to have worked in P before the copying of the Vatican MS., is given no other justification or reason for being, except to testify to the early date which he gives to this codex. But one cannot invent a new corrector to explain every chronological difficulty, and one cannot assume the presence of indefinite numbers of correctors, even in a codex which contains the unusually large number that P does. How many does Hohl think worked in P, prior to P^3? And why, when he finds work of obviously later hands in P reappearing in the copy, is it necessary to invent an entirely different explanation to account for their presence, namely that they were obtained by the copyist, not from P, but from some member of the Σ family, because they occur there too? But the demonstration of the source of every detail in the copy must procede from the actual state of P as a basis, once that codex has been shown, as in the case of Vat. 1899, to be the archetype of the copy. The whole method of Hohl is wrong here, for the date of the copy must be determined by its relation to P's correctors, and not the date of the correctors from an assumed relation to the copy.[1] And the curious thing is that Hohl, having perceived that a considerable number of additions from P, written in different styles of script, appeared in the text of Vat. 1899, did not follow up this clue to its inevitable conclusion. Instead he imposed an arbitrary conception of their relation upon the conditions he found. In point of fact, as my analysis of all the correctors whose hand-writing appears on the pages of P shows, there is no separate corrector between P^2 of the 10th century and the hand of the middle of the 14th century, which I think I have amply demonstrated to be that of Petrarch himself, working between the dates 1345 and 1356. And there are certainly not more than two hands altogether that from their style of writing can be attributed to the 14th century.

But to return to the examination of the work of P^3 which appears in Vat. 1899: the only part of it which is entirely ignored by the

[1] Cf. p. 273, were he expressly says „Die Bedeutung der jüngeren Handschriften (meaning Bambergensis and Vat. 1899) liegt darin, daß sie ein getreues Spiegelbild des P für die erste Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts ergibt (true for B, but not for Vat. 1899). Vat. 1899 kann so für die Scheidung der Noten in P vortreffliche Dienste leisten".

scribe of this copy is his contribution to the restoration of order of the disarranged passages. But Hohl noticed the same attitude toward what he considered the first stage of reconstructive attempts (see above), and I have already pointed it out in regard to the still earlier suggestions of P^2. It is however not safe to conclude from this, as Hohl did, that no attempts had been made in the matter in P when the Vat. was transcribed; and the assumption, made by both Dessau (p. 407) and Hohl (p. 265), that a scribe does not leave unobserved anything that was in his archetype when he made his copy, is not a safe one to rely on, for it is found to be untrue that any copist of P adopted absolutely all of the work of the correctors who, we know beyond a doubt, did precede him — not even the scribe of Petrarch's copy, who comes the nearest to doing so in the case of P^3, or of Poggio's, Ricc. 551, in the case of P^4. Moreover the scribe of Vat. 1899 handled his archetype most erratically, as will appear, and exercised a discrimination not always justified or even explainable, towards all the conditions which he found in P. As far as the rearrangement of order is concerned, he seems simply to have ignored the whole matter — probably with the idea of keeping closely the original condition of his archetype —, and this negative attitude, once assumed, is equally applicable to any stage of relation to P. Certainly, in the face of other more positive evidence, no indication of date can be drawn from it.

Passing on to the second corrector of the 14th century, whom I have identified as Coluccio, it will be found that his work also regularly appears in the Vatican copy, at least some out of each of the groups distinguished by the particular signs described above, the most striking being the variants accompanied by *al'*, *ul' or l'*. For the scribe of this copy, treating these in the erratic manner which he displays in regard to other matters, sometimes wrote consecutively in his text both the original reading of P and the variant of P^4, as in the following cases: AP 1, 3 *tristis al' castus;* 4, 2 *leuans ul' lauans;* 7, 12 *accipere al' anticipare*; MA 10, 4 *senatibus al' senatoribus;* V 10, 4 *lucii ul' marci.*[1] One of these, *accipere al' anticipare,* Hohl observed in Vat. 1899, but gives for its presence quite a different explanation from the one offered in the case of some of P^3's additions, namely that it was obtained from some member of the

[1] Of the rest of this group of P^4's work (see p. 26, n. 1; I lack report fort he first three), Vat. 1899 has in its text, without the sign *al'*, the variants occurring in I, 29, 15; 31, 3; 36, 17. The others were not adopted, but the eight cases that were, are sufficient to show beyond question that the work of P^4 had been done before the copy was made.

Σ family (p. 272). If Peter's report had been complete at this point, and if the presence of the variant in P had been noted in his apparatus, recourse to this hypothesis would have been unnecessary. Again Hohl, not acquainted with the correctors of P and their work, did not follow up the question of how much of the work of this fourth corrector of P appears in Vat. 1899. When we look for traces there of the other groups of his activity, we find that a number of his conjectures accompanied by the sign ⸗ were also adopted by the copyist, although not all[1], just as in the case of the variants; enough however to leave no doubt that they were all in P at the time when the copy was made. Also a great many of the lesser changes, accompanied by no sign or by the sign of insertion, were adopted, while others were rejected.[2] And, most noteworthy of all, the marginal note of P^4 (described above and shown in pl. I, no. 21), which played so effective a part in helping to identify Coluccio as P^4, we find introduced into the context of the Vaticanus at the point indicated by P^4, i. e. after *celebrata est* in MA 17, 5, as indeed it was also in Ricc. 551 and all the rest of the minor MSS, except, of course, Paris. 5816 and its group. It is impossible not to believe that Vat. 1899 was copied from P after the fourth corrector had done all his work in it.

Nor can we stop here. Manetti, P^5, having done no work with the text, is not represented, but the changes of the sixth corrector in the Vita Hadriani (I will leave the matter of his additions in the lacunae for the moment), in great part appear in the text of Vat. 1899.[3] The presence of some of these is noted also by Hohl (recalling Dessau, p. 407), especially the cases in which the Vatican MS gives consecutively in the text both the original reading of P^1 and the change of P^6, namely H. 4, 10 *loquebatur uel loqueretur,* and 7, 5 *honore uel onere.* P^1

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[1] The copyist seems inclined to disregard these conjectures, (see p. 26, n. 2) but adopts those in II, 114, 3; 115, 1; 227, 9; 238, 13.

[2] All of the additions of P^4, mentioned in p. 28, n. 1 are in the text of Vat. 1899, and a good proportion of the changes unaccompanied by sign or with merely ⋀ as given in p. 27, n. 3, also appear. I have noted the scribe's bungling of the correction in II, 131, 22; his adoption of *uetareturque* in I, 44, 16, is interesting because of the service it rendered in identifying P^4 with Coluccio. But P^4's suggestions in the margin at I, 253, 2 *tanto nomine,* and at 265, 7 *ad auroram,* are ignored, as well as the variant in the margin *al' liberos* (I, 6, 18), which were adopted by Ricc. 551 and group.

[3] Such are (cf. p. 36, n. 2, 3 and 5): I, 3, 5 *Italiam;* 3, 6 *commemorat*; 3, 14 *uirum* and 19 *usqz ad reprehensionem* (see pl. I, no. 24, l. 3 and l. 8); 5, 7 *dicit*; 10, 29 *principes;* 15, 24 *mutilare;* 17, 19 *catacaymos* (P^6 spells *catacaimos*); 19, 14 *parieti se*; 23, 4 *collafum daret et diceret* (P^6 spells *colafum*); 23, 19 *mesopotamiis.*

had *honore* and some corrector erased the *h*, without however completing the correction by changing the second *o* to *e*. In each of these places, Hohl thinks he detects an erasure above the present writing in P, which makes it seem probable to him that above the reading of P^1 the variant had been added by some early hand, which, he boldly asserts, had obtained it by consulting some member of the Σ family, and that when the variant was later introduced into the text itself, the upper writing was erased. I am very sure that there were no extended erasures at these points, and that the slight trace which Hohl saw, is nothing but the upper part of the erasure of high letters in the line of the text — *b* in the one case, *h* in the other — which remains conspicuous above the level of the low lettters adjacent. At any rate there is certainly no more necessity to resort to the Σ family to explain the presence of these double readings than of the others cited which give in the text the readings of both P^1 and P^4. And in these two cases, where Vat. 1899 is simply giving both the original reading and that of P^6, the original letters could easily have been made out by the copyist.

I do not however overlook the fact that there are places in which Vat. 1899 has the reading of P^1, where it had been entirely obliterated by P^6 or sufficiently to make it practically illegible. But now that it has been shown that the Vatican codex is of much later date than has thus far been believed, it must be remembered that several MSS were by this time existent in Italy, which had been transcribed from P before the work of the sixth corrector was done, one of which may well have been consulted by the copyist of Vat. 1899.[1] In so far Peter's

[1] The places in which Vat. 1899 has the original reading of P^1 are few in number compared with those in which the changes of P^6 were adopted. In some of them the reading of P^1 can still be made out, as in I, 5, 9 *articuleio* (P^6 *ar*// *culeio*); 6, 7 *definito* (P^6 *defuncto*); 8, 22 *rei publice* (P^6 *al' res p.*); 8, 11 and 9, 3 *mauretaniae* (corrected later to P^6's *mauritaniae*). The cases of special interest are those in which Vat. 1899 has P^1 where no longer legible, as in I, 4, 14 *ueneficiarum* (the last three letters were entirely erased, probably by P^6, who also wrote in the margin *beneficia*); and in 11, 6 *displicerētur uidisse* (P^6 erased the last four letters and the virgula in the first word., replacing *ē* by an *e* of his own, and added *t* after *uidisse*). The MSS. to which one would look for P's condition prior to P^6 are of course Paris. 5816 and Ricc. 551; curiously enough in the first case we find in the latter MS. only the reading of P^1 (and it has also *beneficia* in the margin by the first corrector), for the Paris codex has *b'nfitia2* (sic). In the second case the reverse is true: the Paris MS. has P^1, the Ricc. has *displicerēt uidisse*, changed by a corrector to the reading of P^6. To pursue this matter further, the Paris MS. has both *loquebatur* and *honore*, while Ricc. has *loqueretur* of P^6 (I have no report of Ricc. as to the other). In two places Vat. 1899 has neither P^1 nor P^6: in I, 8, 16, where P^1 had *datis ad senatū* (so also Paris. 5816), and P^6 *dari*/ *a*/ *senatu*

theory of contamination is justified. But even Dessau, who sought to find support for the contamination idea in the presence of these double readings, declares that no trace is to be found of a tradition independent of P.[1] Certainly when it can be shown, by a complete exposition of the work of P's correctors, that they are the source of all the additions and changes in Vat. 1899, and that it is not necessary to look beyond P itself for any of them, then surely we can cease nursing this theory of contamination, which Hohl merely revives in another form, and one insidiously blinding to the truth, when he asserts that Vat. 1899 is under obligations to the Σ family. This theory should have been resorted to only where P failes to offer any explanation as to the source of its readings. I think that I have been able to show the reader that it has not, in the case of Vat. 1899, failed to do so.[2]

The work of the very latest corrector, P^7, does not appear in this copy, with the exception of the added preposition *in* before *Germaniam*, H. 2, 5; this is however so obviously necessary to the sense, that it may well have been provided by any copyist.[3] It is therefore probable that Vat. 1899 was transcribed from P in the interval between the sixth and the last correctors, and cannot be assigned to an earlier date than the third quarter of the 15th century.

Against such evidence as has just been set forth, the objection to

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(*ri* in erasure), Ricc. had *datos ad senatum* (changed by a corrector to *datos ab senatu*), and Vat. 1899 has the first writing also. In 13, 1 the first reading of P was *noti ẽe et eorum* (so B), out of which P^6 made *noti essent et eorum* (using part of the space in the margin); this is also in the Paris MS., Petrarch having changed *ẽe* (*esse*) to *ẽet* (*essent*). Ricc. has *noti* (but looking much like *non*) *essent et*, omitting *eorum*. Vat. 1899 has *nõ ẽet ⁊ eo⁊* (sic), which looks like a combination of Ricc. (misread) and P^6. There remains one more striking case where the Vatican codex has the reading of P^1 where it was completely obliterated by P^6 (in the case cited by Dessau, Max. 18, 3 *siue res*, the reading of P^1 is not at all obscured by the corrector), namely in the first group of lacunae in the V. Gall.; here only B and the Paris MS. besides Vat. 1899, give us P^1 without change: *Romani persida — sertenetur*, though Ricc. originally had the same. From all this it seems clear that the copyist of Vat. 1899 saw not only P with P^6, but also Petrarch's exemplar, and perhaps also Poggio's.

[1] *L. c.*, p. 407. When however Dessau remarks of this eccentric manner of giving both readings: "Natürlich ist dies nicht so zu erklären, daß ein Schreiber, der den Palatinus mit jenen Correcturen vor sich hatte, sowohl die alte wie die neue Lesart berücksichtigen wollte", he seems to be closing his eyes to the obvious explanation, for it is hard to see what other motive the copyist could have had.

[2] Hohl's final argument, drawn from the condition of the lacunae in this MSS., I will leave to discuss till later, where a complete exposition is made of these in all the more important younger MSS. as well as in P.

[3] Or by any corrector, as in Ott. 1304 and Vat. 1902. At I, 9, 1 Vat. 1899 has the reading of P^4, *regis*, and not *rerum* of P^7.

this late date which may be raised on account of the Gothic script in which Vat. 1899 is written, is not valid, for the sporadic appearance of various ornamental book-hands after the period of their greatest vogue is a common enough phenomenon throughout the whole history of the production of MSS books; as e. g. the use of capital, uncial, and half-uncial scripts in éditions de luxe, so to speak, a century or more after they had fallen into disuse in books for the market. Comparison of the ductus here employed with that used in Petrarch's exemplar (shown respectively in Pl. III, colum 4, and pl. I, no. 17) does in fact show little difference in general appearance, and we can explain the occurrence of 14th century script in the later codex simply as an instance of the revival of an earlier ornamental style of writing in the production of a handsome volume, which indeed the Vatican codex is. And there are some special indications of late date which bear out this view; for instance, the elaborately decorated and illuminated initial letters at the beginning of each Vita, and the alternating use of small red and blue initials at the beginning of the sentences, which are more characteristic of late 15th century MSS than of those of the early 14th. Paragraph marks, introduced into P by P^3, are repeated in ornamental form throughout the Vaticanus.

Therefore, the position of Vat. 1899 as an early copy of P being disproved, the codex can now be put aside as of no importance at all. For it is not even valuable as an intelligent copy of P, and contains almost no independent efforts on the part of either scribe or correctors to improve the corrupt state of the text, a service so admirably rendered by both Paris. 5816 and Ricc. 551, and even, in some minor matters of text, by the "redactor" of the Σ family, as I shall show. And now that we have removed the terminus ante quem, which Hohl (p. 265) believed set for this latter group by the early date he mistakenly attributed to Vat. 1899, since he fancied it to be in close dependence on some Σ MS for certain "variae lectiones" found in its text, we can approach the important question of the true position of this last group in the history of the tradition with a more open mind. Leaving for a moment the two MSS admitted by Hohl to be dependent on P and yet related to the Σ group, namely Urb. 414 and Vat. 1902, we will investigate first the condition of its more closely allied members.

The MSS. of the Σ class are found to be distinguished from all the rest of the minor MSS. by the following marked characteristics:

1. They have several considerable losses of text, as in the v. MA 5, 6 *Antonini iam* . . . . 55, 21 *qui dicebant*, in the v. AS 1, 3 *p. p. nomen*

. . . . 3, 2 *habuit Val. Cord.*, and in the v. Cl. 4, 2 *ad A. templum* . . . . 8, 2 *adulamur*. Most of the members of the group have also innumerable short omissions of single words or groups of words, a short space, varying in length from that of a few letters to whole lines or parts, being left vacant at these points; these brief gaps are very conspicuous as one turns the pages of such a codex. Furthermore several members are incomplete, as Vat. 1897, which ends in the last vita with the words *urso eluso* in 19, 2 (the rest having been added later in a very different hand). The same incomplete end Hohl reports for Malatest. and Harl. 4121 (p. 397).

2. They have extended additions to the text, varying considerably in length, at the end of the v. MB and at the beginning of the v. Val., also at the end of the biographies of Caracalla, Pescennius, and the Triginta Tyranni.[1]

3. Some extensive rearrangements of the text have been made in these MSS., as notably in the v. MA, whole parts being shifted about and then welded together in their new positions by changes in the wording or by slight additions. Similar changes but less extensive were made in the v. PN. and the v. T.

4. In a great many places, where in P the text was obviously corrupt and the various correctors there attempted emendation, in the MSS. of this group the corrupt parts are quite differently emended (or omitted altogether), the near-by text being changed freely to make a smooth and continuous reading.

5. In a number of places — where in P no changes were made by correctors — these codices have different readings in single words, not a few of which appear in the last edition, where generally no source of the improvement is indicated.

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[1] For the text of the first two, which are also in Urb. 414 and Vat. 1902, see Peter, Praef. XXII and XXIII. After the final words of the v. Cc., *templum fecit*, in P, Vat. 1902 and also the MSS. of the Σ group proper have the addition: 'Post istum imperauit opilius macrinus cum filio dyadumeno' (spelled *dyadumerio* in Vat. 1902, Paris. 5807, and Laur. 66, 32). After the last word of the v. T. in P, *facultatem*, Vat. 1902 has a colon, and then the words 'Nunc ad Claudium principem redeamus'. The MSS. of the Σ group have a longer addition, which however begins similarly: 'Nunc (*hunc* in Vat. 1898) ad claudium (*glaudium*, Vat. 1898) principem redeo', then continues 'de quo spetiale mihi uolumen quamvis breue merito uite illius uidetur edendum addito fratre singulari uiro ita ut de familia tam sancta et tam nobili saltem (saltim Vat. 1898) pauca referantur'. Finally after the end of the v. PN, the Σ family have a paragraph — not in Vat. 1902 and Urb. 414 — which repeats the text of 9, 3 and 4, *Sequitur nunc . . . . . satis dispar*. The gradual withdrawal from participation in these interpolations on the part first of Urb. 414 and then of Vat. 1902 is very striking.

6. The biographies are arranged in nearly the correct chronological order, that is, all which are out of place in P are restored to the correct position except Avidius Cassius, which is put in after Didius Julianus instead of after Verus. The titles of the Vitae are changed to read as in the portion of Laur. 20, 6 shown in pl. II, no. 13, with the name of the author in the accusative with *per* (sometimes the whole or a part of the title is lacking), and an index, classified by authors, is added at the end.

7. The disarranged portions of the v. AS etc. are in their correct order in these MSS., and no trace of the lacunae is left in the biographies of the Valeriani and Gallieni, the text being continuous, with the omission of some of the fragmentary parts in P.

These differences from the other exemplars of the Historia Augusta are however not such as would occur in MSS. representing a different tradition of the same piece of literature, but are clearly due to the work of some bold and independent student of the text, seeking not to preserve scrupulously the author's words, but to make a readable book and a continuous history. The question we have to settle is, whether this thorough redaction of the text was made on the basis of the tradition furnished by P, or on the basis of some representative of a tradition independent of P. Dessau (p. 407) expressed the belief that no conclusive evidence of the presence of such an independent tradition had yet been brought, (as Peter and, recently, Hohl have sought to do), but that all existing MSS. are more or less directly dependent on P. Dessau attempted no extended demonstration of his view, contenting himself with showing the dependence of Vat. 5301 and Vat. 1899, and suggesting the same for the Σ group. But now that the question has been opened up again, the evidence on which my own conviction of the correctness of Dessau's belief has long been founded, and which I believe will be finally conclusive, must be set forth.

In investigating this question, the first thing is to determine, if possible, the parent of the group, or at best, its oldest exstant representative. And here Hohl is certainly in error, for it is not difficult to show that this is not the Vatican codex no. 1897, as he thinks (p. 397); but rather Laurentianus sin. 20, 6, to which Hohl is unwilling to allow any important position (p. 395). All the evidence supports my view. At the first glance the latter codex is seen to be free from the innumerable small vacant spaces which disfigure all the rest of the group, and on examination it is found not to contain the slight omissions which occur in the others at these points. Furthermore the existence of the omissions

in the rest is often directly explainable from the condition of the Laur. For it is written in an irregular and not easily legible minuscle (see pl. II, no. 13), with many cursive forms and many abbreviations so condensed and obscure that they often are the obvious source of both omissions and errors in the others[1]. Moreover the Laur. is complete at the end of the last Vita; and while it has the same longer omissions and interpolations and the same inversions and rearrangements, which I have enumerated above, as the rest of the group, it nowhere has less text than they.[2] And as for the relative dates of the two codices, though both are of the 15th century, the Laurentian is certainly older. Hohl is certainly not justified in placing Vat. 1897 in the 14th century. He gives no reasons for so doing, merely making the assertion, on the ground of its script (p. 396), that Peter is wrong in attributing it to the 15th century (p. 275, n. 4 and 385, n. 3). In fact, judged merely from its external

[1] E. g. in I, 249, 23 Laur. has the abbreviation *uix'*, the *t* being almost obscured by an abbreviation in the line above: Par. 5807 and Laur. 66, 32 have *uix*; in 250, 9 Laur. has *sc̃us* (*sanctus*, P): Vat. 1897 has exactly the same form of abbreviation, but Vat. 1898 has *factus* (the initial long *s* in Laur. does look like an *f*); in 252, 15 Laur. has *sac'* (*sacratus* P) . . . *sc̃uz* (*sacrum* P): Vat. 1898 and Ambros. 110 have *sacer* . . . *sanctum* (in the rest, these words occur in the long omission of the rest of the *acclamationes*, extending from *seruent*, 251, 17 to 252, 18, *et post accl.*; no gap is left but *etc.* takes the place of the omitted part). In 252, 17, where P has *habeas* (Peter *haueas*), Laur. has the abbreviation *hēz'*, which is reproduced almost exactly in Vat. 1898 and Ambros. 110, i. e. *hém'* (for *habemus*, obviously to supply a verb for *per te omnia* (P *omne*). At 251, 4 an ambiguous abbreviation for *Varius* in Laur., causes an omission of the word in Vat. 1897 and Paris. 5807; and likewise in 259, 4 *iuris*, being written with the last two letters in a queer ligature in Laur., is omitted in the same two copies. In 252, 16 for *honorem* of P, Laur. has n^{a}, read *nomen* by the others; in 255, 22 *q̃m*, where P has *quam*, interpreted by the rest as *quoniam*; and in 256, 5 *c̃a* for P's *contra*, the rest having *circa*; but in these cases they were probably right in interpreting thus the abbreviations in Laur., which was purposely changing the reading.

[2] It has not, for instance, the omission in the long acclamations in AS 6 and 7, noted in n. 1. Again in AS 18, 5, where the rest omit the Greek together with the introductory words, *quae Graece talis est*, Laur. has it, in Latin characters as in P. And Laur. 20, 6 alone of the group has all the verses quoted from Vergil in P, in H, 2, 8; the rest have only the first line. In the same Vita, 9, 1, Vat. 1897 (with Paris. 5807 and Laur. 63, 32) omits *quae supra* of P, whereas Laur. not only has these words but also adds a verb *diximus*. In 24, 1, P has *prouincialegetorias*, the *s* being by one corrector, P^{3}, carelessly misplaced, and *pre* by P^{4}, so that Paris. 5816 and Vat. 1899 have *prouinciales getorias*, Ricc. 551 and Vat. 1902 *prouinciales pretorias*; the Σ MSS. will have none of this — and they cannot be blamed, for neither correction is complete — so they keep P^{1}, throwing *prouinciale* back with the preceding sentence, and punctuating after it with a period; then Laur. procedes *Getorias p̃sidales* (sic) *plurimas fecit*, etc., but all the others omit the abbreviated and misspelled *praesidiales*.

appearance, the Vatican codex cannot be dated so early. It is a handsome book, of unusually large size, having about 46 lines to the page. The margin of the first page of the text is filled with an elaborate illuminated border, in red, blue, violet and gold, and the very decorative initial letter of the first Vita contains a medallion head of Hadrian[1]. Certainly none of this points to the beginning of the 14th century. I myself was especially impressed with the late appearance of the whole book. In comparison with it, the Florentine codex looks much older, even older than it actually is. It is quite unadorned, and the irregular minuscle, in which it is written recalls somewhat by its style the more cursive writing of Petrarch and of other cursive MS. of the latter part of the 14th century, although it cannot be dated even so early as that, as I shall shortly show. And its early look is probably due to its having been written by an elderly scribe, for the noticeably wavering and uncertain ductus looks as if executed by an infirm, trembling hand, like the writing of old people now-a-days. The codex is really a palimpsest, having been transcribed on sheets from which the former cursive writing, running crosswise to the present lines, had been pretty completely removed, at least enough to make it illegible, but not so completely as not to add to the difficulties of reading the present writing. The margins are full of notes which point to a thoughtful study of the text,[2] but as these are in the hand of the scribe, they were probably copied from the archetype at the same time with the text. That this was not P di-

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[1] Very similar decorations are found on the first folio of Ambros. 269, even to the medallion portrait, there beardless and in the lower margin. The late date of this codex, which Hohl, while showing that it is a direct copy of Vat. 5301 (p. 268), neglects to state, becomes of special interest in this connection. That it is of the rather late 15th century, is assured by the circumstance that it was copied from Vat. 5301 after the latter codex had been provided with its much later first folio. This leaf of white parchment inscribed in a humanistic minuscle, is in contrast to the rest of the codex, which was written in a cursive style on paper and which has been correctly dated in the 15th century (Peter, Praef. XVIII). Moreover the two pages of this first folio, ending with H. 5, 22, *Traianus*, contain the changes in the text of the sixth corrector in P, showing that they had been copied from some later copy of P which contained P^6, and then incorporated in Vat. 5301 to replace a lost folio. These readings of P^6 are also in the Ambros., setting the date of the latter well along in the 15th century. The new folio of Vat. 5301 is also adorned with colored illuminations. No one skilled in palaeographic chronology would be willing to place books thus decorated in the 14th century.

[2] Many of these are repetitions from the text, but some point to criticism of style, source etc., as one note on f. 6^r, opposite the beginning of the v. Ael., reading: 'Apparet hic istum hellium Spartianum uitam Adriani composuisse quod satis et stilus indicat omnium conformitate nedum similitudine sed idem.'

rectly, appears from the condition of Laur. at the long omission in the Vita Claudi where the last half of one page and more than half of the next (24 and 37 lines respectively) are left vacant, while a note in the margin remarks: 'hic deficit in historia Claudi'. Evidently this empty space existed also in the MS from which Laur. was copied, and it looks as if the space might have been left vacant there, pending some rearrangement of this portion of the text; for the verb *adulamur*, with which the text is resumed, is left without a subject.[1] The subordination of Vat. 1897 to the Laur. is evident at this point, for it has a vacant space of only nine lines, with the marginal note: 'deficit in exemplari'. Also at the points in the v. MA, where the long omissions occur, Laur. has the note (in a different but early hand) 'hic deficit una carta'.[2] But that the archetype of the intermediate exemplar from which the Laurentian codex was copied was P, there are some special indications. In P after the word *Antonini*, MA 5, 6, there is a sign which is repeated in the margin (this is on f. 21^{r}), and again at 9, 5 before the words *qui dicebant*, and in the adjacent margin (of f. 22^{v}); these words form the limits of the long omission which exists in the MSS. of the Σ group, and possibly the sign was placed in P by the very hand of the 'redactor', at least it cannot be identified with any of P's correctors,[3] and no earlier copies of P show the effects of observing it.[4] The following circumstance also points to P as ultimate archetype: in AS 29, 4 the words between *et* (before *tractatae*) and the last syllable of *placeret*, omitted (by haplography) in some MSS. of the Σ family, fill just a line in P; evidently the eye of the copyist dropped down exactly a line there. This omission I noted in Paris. 5807 (and in Vat. 1902), but it is probably also in the Laur.

It seems clear from this evidence that Laur. 20, 6, the oldest codex we have which contains the energetic but, from the modern point of view, conscienceless work of the redactor of the Σ family, is itself a

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[1] This is in contrast to the condition in the early part of the Vita Alexandri, where the redactor bridged over the omission by adding after *nomen*, 1, 3 (which ends f. 101^{r} in P) the words *haberet et*, and then continued with *habuit Val. Cord.*, 3, 2 (before which P^{3} had added a gloss for *litteratores*, namely *i. ystoricos*).

[2] The others leave vacant spaces, varying in length from 13½ lines in Paris. 5807 and Laur. 66, 32, to only part of a line in Ambros. 110.

[3] P^{4} used a similar sign, as shown in pl. II, no. 2, but of different form and color of ink.

[4] Cf. the changes which the scribe of Ricc. 551 made in obedience to other signs in P, as shown in p. 47, n. 1; he would probably also have done so here, had they been present at that time.

copy of the exemplar in which the redaction was first executed. The relations of the rest of the group are of comparatively little importance, but the following account covers the facts fairly closely. Vat. 1897 is a direct copy of Laur. 20, 6, Paris. 5807 is a copy of the Vat.[1], and Laur. 66, 32 belongs closely with them, is possibly a copy of the Paris codex. Vat. 1898, the poorest of the group, goes back to the Laur. again, as does also Ambros. 110; this Vatican MS. has many slipshod and unnecessary errors and, although it is without some of the omissions of Vat. 1897 and its dependents, on the other hand it has some of its own, not shared by any of the others. Hohl adds some other MSS. to the group, which I did not see (see pp. 395 to 398). It is possible that in one of these, on closer study, the archetype of Laur. 20, 6, i. e. the very codex in which the redaction was executed, might be discovered. But the Florentine codex will fully serve our purpose in determining what the basis of this redaction was. The evidence must again be sought in our old criterion of P's correctors.

This is at first sight somewhat obscured by the fact that here, as elsewhere, the redactor acted with arbitrary independence. For in a large proportion of the obviously corrupt places, where the correctors of P naturally were active, the redactor rejected their efforts and made entirely new readings of his own. But in every such case, he made a much more radical change and took far greater liberty with the tradition than the more conscientious correctors of P had ventured to do. For example in AS 3, 3, where P^3 supplied *orationes* before *declamatae* (see pl. I, no. 11; certainly something is lacking in P^1, though Peter printed it), Laur. disregarded P^3's addition, and changed the whole phrase to *cuius hodie* (omitting *que*) *declamationes feruntur*. In 4, 3 of the same Vita, where P^3 tried to make a possible reading out of a doubly corrupt place by adding *rubrum* (in the archaized style, see above) after *decore(u)m esse*, Laur. has the whole passage rearranged thus: "*Et erat huius corporis uenustate decorus ut hodieque in picturis et statuis uidemus: fuit et staturae militaris robur*", etc. In the v. T. 9, 4 (II, 106, 20) the long additions of P^3 (which were adopted by the scribe of Vat. 1899, see p. 53, n. 2) were ignored by the redactor, and we find in Laur. 20, 6 "*fertur sane idem Ingenuus ciuitate capta in aquam se mersisse*" (cited by Peter from R, i. e. Paris. 5807). And in PN 2, 6 P^3's addition, *quasi impera-(tor)*, is rejected and replaced by the reading *miserat hortatus*. In some

[1] Evidence of this appears in H. 17, 12, where P's corrupt *afrasmane* is divided *afras mane* in Vat. 1897; in the margin the scribe wrote *al' asyrias*: Paris. 5807 has *asyrias* in the text in place of *afras*.

places the redactor seems to have preferred complete omission to the acceptance of the suggestions made by P's correctors, even when he was unable to improve on them; e. g. in OM 11, 7, where the awkward and scarcely legible change from *uiderique* to *uideri cui* (misread by Vat. 1899, see p. 52, n. 1) was made by P^3, the Σ MSS. omit the syllable altogether and replace it by a period. And in AS 40, 7, where P^2 supplied the missing letters in *in it(ali)ae urbibus*, but without dividing the words, they omit the proper name, though by so doing they make the whole sentence devoid of sense. In the same Vita, 5, 3 where the omission of a conjunction in P leaves the subjunctive *iungeretur* unmotived (the editors supply *cum*), Laur. omits the whole preceding sentence from *delatum* to *recusauit*, and begins a new sentence: *hic magis adfinitate C. uim gerit* (for *iungeretur*), *quam ille Heliogabalus subditiuus*. This is merely typical of a great number of free changes of this sort, and when one has become acquainted with this method of handling an archetype, which has no respect at all for sacredness of tradition in the text, it will not be surprising to find it applied also to the work of mere correctors. One is not even inclined to attribute the copyist's disregard of what he must have found in his archetype to oversight, as does Dessau (p. 408), who is however right in saying that this is not to be regarded as proof of independence from P.

But we are not forced to depend on negative evidence alone. Closer examination shows that some at least of the work of every corrector of P, from the 10th century down to and including the latest of all, P^7, reappears in the MSS. of this group.[1] The more conspicuous additions of P^3 are generally not found there, as for instance the added line in the v. Cc. 8, 3 and the other archaized additions — I have shown how the text was changed to avoid the necessity of adopting one of these — and also some others written in the natural styles of P^3. Inconspicuous changes, such as those in the formal hand which were written in the text over erasures, were more often adopted.[2] Of P^4, more of the vari-

[1] Among the changes of P^2 in the v. AS, which I noted in the MSS. of the Σ group are the following: 253, 1 *ne me*; and 21 *luxuria;* 255, 16 *Augustus* (also *ait* added by P^3); 275, 11 *secunda;* 293, 23 *cruentauit;* 296, 17 *ignorant;* 297, 5 *plurimis*. Of P^7 all the work detailed in n. 1, p. 38 is found (even to the exact form of the abbreviation, *re*$\overline{\text{q}}$, for *rerum*, in I, 9, 1) except in 13, 9, where *ut et barbaros* is read (I have no report for 9, 19; 11, 9; 31, 14).

[2] As e. g. I, 59, 27 *si;* 164, 3 *summoueri;* 165, 24 *femineos;* 199, 1 *conscribam;* 249, 24 *cotidianos;* 255, 16 *ait*, and 21 *post;* 257, 6 *persici*, and 10 *gratias;* 270, 14 *operam* (but *semper* is omitted); 267, 20 *conscio* (but *non* for *numquam*); II, 5, 3 *ciuis;* 10, 26 *occiderat;* 16, 25 *contra;* 18, 10 *subvertit;* 25, 28 *inter;* 232, 8 *diuersitatem*. In some places distinct traces of P^3 are visible, even

ants were adopted than of the conjectures with the sign $\mathcal{d}$, though both groups are well represented.[1] The most noticeable contribution of the fourth corrector, the marginal note on f. 25, is adopted in the text of MA 17, 5 after *celebrata est*, and the text of 21, 9 which the note practically repeats is omitted. This alone would be sufficient to prove the dependence of the Σ group on P, and its late date. But the later correctors found even more favor with the redactor; the changes of the sixth corrector made in the text of the v. H., with the more or less complete removal of P^1, appear, almost without exception, in these MSS.;[2] we should not be surprised then to see in them also the work

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where his suggestion was not entirely adopted; e. g. in I, 183, 3, where *uero excusationem* was added by P^3 after *accusationem sui* (end of the line), the Σ MSS. have *accusationem et sui excusationem*. Similarly in I, 49, 3, they take P^3's *in*, which most of the other copies overlook, and reject P^3's *dignitatem* for their own *familiam* (cf. Vat. 1899, p. 53, n. 2). The additions of P^3 which are not present, are in many cases those which were also ignored by the scribe of Vat. 1899, while others were accepted. On the other hand, the Σ MSS. have a few that are not in Vat., showing that there was little if any of the close relation between them which Hohl thinks existed.

[1] Of the variants written in the text of the Σ MSS., one in I, 42, 4, *anticipare* was noted by Hohl; others are 56, 13 *senatoribus;* 57, 19 *uias;* 59, 5 *rete* (cf. p. 26, n. 1). Conjectures of P^4 are adopted in the text at II, 238, 13 *quem*, and 239, 10 *portaretur,* and I, 286, 15 *multam*. Also in I, 44, 16 *uetareturque,* was adopted, and in some places suggestions for somewhat different emendations are apparently taken from P^4, e. g. in I, 6, 18, where P^4 has *al' liberos,* and P^1 *corrupisse eum Traiani libertos*), the Σ MSS. change to *corruptis traiani secum liberis*. And in I, 265, 7 where P^4 suggests *ad auroram* for P's *et annonam*, they have *et non ante auroram* (note that this occurs first in a correction in Urb. 414, p, 70, n. 3).

[2] The reading of P^6 is either ignored or modified in the following places (cf. notes 2 to 5, p. 36, where they are listed). In 4, 14, where P^6 wrote *ueneficia* (with *beneficia* in the margin), and completely removed the original reading, which was probably the same as that of B, i. e. *ueneficiarum,* Laur. 20, 6, has a vacant space of 3 to 4 letters and *ficiarum*. Ambros. 110 has a long omission of nearly a line, while Vat. 1898 has the remarkable reading: *Serviano uxor ficiarum*. But Vat. 1897 and Paris. 5807 have P^1, in common with Vat. 1902 (we have shown this was also in Vat. 1899). Priority of age is not to be inferred from this for Vat. 1897 over Laur., for there is much other evidence of a close connection of the former with Vat. 1902 (see below). In another place, where the Σ MSS. return to P^1, even when no longer legible after the erasure of the sixth corrector, the source is again obvious, namely Ricc. 551. For in 8, 16 where P^6 wrote *dari a senatu* for P^1's *datis ad senatum,* Ricc. alone, besides Vat. 1899, has the reading, *datos ad senatum*, which is found in the Σ group; even the dependents of Ricc. follow a later corrector's change, *datos ab senatu*. Only in one case does there seem to be trace of independence in the Σ MSS., i. e. in 23, 4, where P^6 wrote *collafum daret et diceret* in an erasure which completely removed P^1, so that this is attainable only by recourse to B, which has *colla fundaret qui noli;* for all the rest of the minor MSS., even Paris. 5816, have the same as P^6, except the Σ MSS., which accept *colaphum* (sic) *daret* from P^6, but

of this hand in the lacunae of the v. Val. and Gall. (see below). At any rate, it is impossible not to perceive that the redaction was made on the basis, not only of the same tradition as P's, but actually in some exemplar which was copied directly from P after the work of all its correctors had been done.

This dependence on P becomes even more clear when we examine the two MSS. which are derived directly from P, as Hohl admits, and yet have close affiliations with the Σ MSS., namely Vat. 1902 and Urb. 414. I have already shown (see p. 61, n. 1) their participation in some of the interpolations which characterize that group, since they contain some of the shorter ones and, in one case, the opening words of one of the longer ones. Similarly they contain some, though by no means all, of the readings which are in no other MSS. except the interpolated ones,[1] and have also some of the characteristic omissions and rearrangements of that family.[2] And yet in some places they keep the reading

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return to P^1 with *qz* (sic) *noli.* But at least this is no improvement over P. In 23, 19, the reading of Laur. and Vat. 1898, *mesopotaneis,* is obviously a corruption of *mesopotamiis* of P^6, which the rest of the group have. P^1 can still be made out in two places where the Σ MSS. return to it, namely 10, 29, where the same two, Laur. and Vat. 1898, have *princeps* of P^1, while the others have, with all the rest of minor MSS., *principes* of P^6; and again in 6, 7, where P^6 has *defuncto* and Laur. has *definita* (*a* in erasure: P^1 had *definito*), and after it the stupid corruption *quidem mensura,* all of which is followed in the rest of the group.

[1] E. g. from the v. AS, the following: 247, 3 *maluimus;* 249, 13 *eos dignos adesse iubebat* (as M); 14 *priuatimque,* 16 *eaque,* 23 *et* (for *ei*); 252, 23 *hec* added before *diceret,* and *est* after *acclam.*; 253, 22 *rite* (P *inte*); 254, 5 *certi sumus*; 17 *nomen* added (so Peter) and 22 *Vario* for *Aurelio* (as Hirschfeld); 255, 19 *accipio;* 22 *ex* for *de* and *censentes quoniam;* 23 *ingeritis;* 256, 1 *ipsum,* and 22, *etiam* for *praeterea;* 258, 18 *uagatiuum hominem;* and 21 *pasceret* and *iudicari;* 262, 15 *laticlauum;* 263, 2 *et qualis* (for *quo*), etc. The two intermediate MSS. have, with the Σ MSS., a special title *De Maximino Juniore* (Max. 27, 1) and resume the text: *Maximinus iunior cuius genere,* etc., Vat. 1898 supplying the preposition *de* before *cuius;* also they alone with Σ MSS. adopt in the text the late addition of *demiserunt* after *optimum.* (I, 294, 23).

[2] In AS 10, 1 instead of *item dixit*, the text is resumed with *Tum ille* and in 11, 1 after the acclamations, with *Quibus Alex.,* instead of P's *Alex. imperator dixit.* In AS 4,2, all have the remarkable reading, *ut et pineatus iret* between *ueste* and *alba,* instead of P's *ut et pingitur;* and in 4, 4, while having the rearrangement of the Σ family, mentioned above, made to avoid the use of P^3's *rubrum,* Urb. 414 keeps the phrase *decoreum esse rubrum,* though Vat. 1902 with the Σ MSS. omits it. In AS 5, the opening sentence of section 3, *delatum .... senatu,* is inserted in section 5, after *recusauit* in Urb. 414, before it in the Σ MSS., which make a further addition of *Adhuc* before *et Magni nomen* etc.; and in 13, 2 all have *dum mater eum in templo pareret.* The omission in 8, 3 of *iniuriam ... Veri ... Bassiani ... uindica,* present in Urb. 414 and Vat. 1902, recurs in Vat. 1898, but not in Laur. 20, 6 nor in the rest of the group; and

of P where the Σ MSS. depart from it,[1] and they contain much more of the work of P's correctors.[2] Most striking of all are certain places in which a regular succession of dependence can be traced, namely in this order: Urb. 414, Vat. 1902, Laur. 20, 6, and the rest of the Σ group.[3] This cannot however be followed consistently everywhere, so

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that of *et* before *alia* in 12, 2 and *rerum* before *memoria* in 14, 6 occurs in all; and in 14, 3 they omit *ipse* and read *autem* for *uatem*. In 257, 17 all omit the phrase *quod tenet imperium*, and in the next line *Romani illum*.

[1] In I, 253, 14 the Σ group have *tempore* (*tpe* in Laur.), where the transitional and all the other younger MSS. have P's *ipse;* in 269, 14 they have *prompte* (*pmpte* in Laur.) for *fronte* of P^2, which is in all the other minor MSS. (P^1 seems to have had *pronte*); in II, 129, 25 while the other MSS. follow P in having *meror,* the Σ group, oddly enough, have B's *memor* (similarly in II, 84, 4 B's *faustiniano* reappears in Vat. 1898 and Urb. 414). In II, 15, 23 the Σ MSS. alone have the additional word *exemplum* after *fuit*, and in I, 156, 15, where P lacks *litteris* after *mediocriter* (Peter admits it in his text without comment), the Σ MSS. alone have it, but change *mediocriter* to *mediocribus*.

[2] They have nearly all of the conspicuous additions of P^3, the added line in Cc. 8, 3, the addition to the title in Gd. 16, 4, and others, frequently discussed; e. g. I, 157, 18 *quasi impera(tor),* 158, 6 *rei euentus,* 183, 3 *uero excusationem,* 249, 4 *orationes,* II, 6, 7 *diceris*, 18, 18 *Clodium et Balbinum,* etc., and adopt changes at I, 249, 8, 9, and 24; 250, 10 and 16; 254, 4; 257, 25, etc. etc., and they also adopt more of the work of P^4 than the Σ MSS. Yet they sometimes ignore the same changes of correctors as they, as e. g. in II, 21, 11 *quiescentes,* 40, 7 *senatus,* 135, 19 *interest,* and in some places have the same substituted readings, as in II, 131, 22 *adscriptus est* (*adscriptū* in Vat. 1902), where P^4 emended P^1's *adscripest* (cf. Vat. 1899 at this point, p. 52, n. 1). They vary however sufficiently to preclude the possibility of either being a copy of the other; e. g. in I, 52, 26 Urb. has *participatum,* as P, while Vat. 1902 has *principatu* (nearer B); and each has some omissions which the other has not. Moreover their relation to P's correctors is not always the same; for instance they both adopt in II, 239, 11 the name *Arrii* before *Apri,* but *Anolinum* in 28, 29 is in Vat. only, not in Urb.; in II, 10, 14 Vat. has P^4's variant, while Urb. has P^1, and conversely Urb. has P^6 in I, 4, 14; 6, 7 and 18; and 8, 16, while Vat. has P^1 (or at least something different from the corrector). And Urb. 414 has none of the work of P^7, while Vat. 1902 is like the Σ group in having practically all of it.

[3] Corrections made in Urb. 414, are received into the text of Vat. 1902 and the Σ group; e. g. in I, 249, 16 *eoqz* is corrected to *eaqz* by the first hand in Urb., which then Vat. 1902 and Laur. 20, 6 have; in 255, 18, P^2 deleted the last two letters of the word *consortioni,* and the scribe of Urb., having first written P^1, imitated P^2's correction but misplaced the expunction marks, putting them under the letters *on*; and so we find in Vat. and the Σ MSS. *consortii;* and in 262, 15, where Urb. wrote P's *imperatorem* and corrected to *imperatorum,* Vat. and the Σ MSS. have the latter reading in the text. In 265, 7 Urb. wrote P's *annonam,* and then changed it to *non ante auroram* (probably influenced by P^4's *ad auroram*) and this reading reappears in Vat. and the Σ group. In 268, 13, where a late hand in P (probably this is one of Manetti's few attempts at text emendation) changed *locossas* (so B and Paris. 5816; Peter reports no change at all in P) to *colossas* in the text and wrote in the margin *al' lacosas,* Urb. re-

that it is clear that we do not have to do with a series of successive copyings, as in the group of Paris. 5816 and its dependents (see above), but rather that there is a close interrelation, with P as the ultimate basis of all.[1] Examination of these details leads to the conclusion, not that these two MSS. have made extensive borrowings from the Σ MSS., as Hohl thinks (p. 284), but that they are earlier, and represent a sort of transitionary stage to the extreme freedom of the fully interpolated and reconstructed group. They supply an intermediate link, so to speak, in the chain of evidence which ties the latest family to the Palatine codex.

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produces this situation exactly in both text and margin, while Vat. and the Σ MSS. have *lacosas* in their text. Also in some of the more radical changes in the text of the Σ MSS., the transitional position of Vat. 1902 between them and Urb. (closer to P) is apparent: e. g. in I, 183, 14 Urb. has P^3's added *ne* before *augeretur,* i. e. it has the same as Peter's text, but Vat. 1902 changes *ne augeretur* to *ne uideretur augeri,* while the Σ group go one step farther and read *ne uideretur ac augeretur.* In I, 250, 4—5, Urb. has *Et erat corporis uenustate decorus ut hodie in pictura et statuis uidemus decoreum esse rubrum,* and so on like P, except that *et* is inserted before *ualitudo* in l. 6; Vat. has *Eratque* and *picturis,* omits *decoreum esse rubrum,* and then continues *Fuit et staturae militaris* etc.; Σ has *Et erat huius corporis uenustate decorus,* and the rest like Vat. with *et* in l. 6. And there is a considerable number of other places where Urb. has P's present condition, while Vat. makes some slight change, which the Σ MSS. extend, taking even greater liberties with the text.

[1] The number of cases in which the Σ group agrees with Vat. 1902 as against Urb. 414, is considerably greater than the reverse; e. g. in I, 182, 26 Vat. and the Σ MSS. have *contendens* added after *Romam,* but Urb. is without it; in 185, 13 Urb. reads with P *damnati,* while Vat. and the Σ MSS. have *designati;* in 7, 1, 16, where P's original reading was *intendit,* changed to *impendit* by a late hand, which also wrote *intendit* in the margin, Urb. has *impendit,* with P's *paci* earlier in the same line, but Vat. and the Σ MSS. have *pacis,* and, following neither P^1 nor its corrector in the verb, have *dedit.* In 258, 16, where P^3 added n^i (i. e. *nisi*), Urb. has *nec,* but Vat. and the Σ MSS. *non* (these are probably misinterpretations of P^3's sign; cf. Vat. 1899, *non*). Also some omissions which the Σ group and Vat. have in common, Urb. does not have, as in I, 250, 4 (see above, p. 70, n. 3), and 252, 23 *uno die;* while Vat. on the other hand has some readings not in Urb. and the Σ MSS., as I, 249, 24 *aliquos . . . cotidianos,* and 251, 25 *contam . . . punitus est.* But the latest group shows a surprising agreement with Urb., as against the Vat., in some places; e. g. in I, 59, 19 both of them had originally *uelle abfricaretur* of P, but Urb. has in the margin by the first hand *al' fabricaretur,* which is the reading of the Σ MSS. And in 253, 7, where Vat. has *equantem* (i. e. adopts P^2), Urb. and the Σ group have *equitatem,* and farther on in the same line, where Vat. has P, the rest have *clarissimam spem;* and likewise in 249, 25 *uocatos,* in 251, 7 *relexere* (for *relegere*) are readings of Urb. and Σ, not of Vat. 1902. In one place a curious combination of influences seems to have been at work, namely in I, 168, 10, where Vat. has *omnino* for *a nonio* of P (and Urb.), and *noluit: timens odiosum C.* for *noluit umen C.* of P (and Urb.); the Σ MSS. follow Vat. 1902 in the last, but revert to P (and Urb.) in having *a nonio* in the former.

This relation was apparent in the matter of the rearrangement of the disordered parts, but is nowhere more conspicuous than in the treatment of the lacunae in the biographies of the Valeriani and Gallieni, where the transitional MSS. have almost exactly the same condition as the Σ MSS.; i. e. they have P with the additions of the sixth corrector, omitting the fragments which P^6 failed to amplify and fit into the context, and closing up the text so that no vacant spaces are left. And a gradual development in the attitude of the various copyists of P, leading up to this treatment of the archetype, can be traced, beginning with the MSS. which most conscientiously adhere to it. In order to make this quite clear, I have included in pl. III photographs of the MSS most representative of these stages, for one glance at them will be of more service in getting at the truth than any amount of exposition in words. And I do this especially to correct the impression which Hohl's treatment of these places conveys, and to show how certain it is that Vat. 1899 did not obtain the additions to what P originally contained by consulting some one of the Σ MSS., but that it, as well as they, obtained them directly from P after the work of the sixth corrector had been done. I have already shown by the demonstration of the actual dates of Vat. 1899 and of the earliest member of the Σ group, that it is unnecessary to have recourse to any such theory, for neither one was taken from P until after it had been furnished with all the writings of its long succession of correctors through P^6.

But let us examine first the condition of those MSS. which have been shown to be direct copies of P. In pl. III, I have placed in the first column the passages, in the order of the text, which contain the lacunae from P: in A, Val. 8, 5; in B, Gall. 1, 1, in C, 1, 3, in D, 2, 1, in E, 4, 2, and in F, 4, 4. In the second column are the same portions of text from the Bambergensis, which will serve to show the original condition of P where that has been removed by the erasures of P^6, especially in passage B. I have not included the passages from Paris. 5816, for, being a close copy of P, made while the spaces were still empty, it has exactly the same condition in these places as the Bamberg MS. In column 3 the corresponding parts of Ricc. 551 are given, which being copied before P^6, had originally the same as P^1; but the second corrector, having consulted P after its sixth corrector had made the additions, introduced exactly the same ones in the copy, scrupulously following every detail, even in method of erasure and expunction in B and F, and in the retention of both conjectures in the last line of F, i. e. *circumagens* and *circumiens*. No one who compares the photographs in

columns 1 and 3, can be in any doubt as to the source from which these additions were derived by the corrector of Ricc. 551. The only noteable difference occurs in E, where the corrector of Ricc. adds the word *per* before the enigmatical *strangythebitinos*, while retainig also the *a* of P^1 in the preceding space. And in A, having inserted the whole word *sermo* after *mul(tus)* in the first line, the corrector deleted the fragment *se* after *fuit* (cf. similar conditions in D with the fragment *aria* and the word *petit*).

In Vat. 1899 (shown in column 4) the conditions are not quite so simple, but now that we know it to have been copied from P after the sixth corrector's work had been done, elsewhere as well as in the lacunae, it is not difficult to see that the variations from the condition of P are merely vagaries of the copyist, handling his archetype in these places as erratically as we found him doing in others. It is possible that Hohl is right in his suspicion that he took at first only what P^1 had written, at least there seems some evidence of this in A, but the explanation is different from that found by Hohl. The copyist ignored the additions of P^6 at first, not because they were not yet present, but because he proposed to retain P 's original condition, as in the matter of reconstructing the disarranged order of parts in the v. AS etc. And the manner in which he gives both the words as reconstructed by P^6 and the original fragments too, is in harmony with his peculiar inclusion of double readings elsewhere. And some of these repetitions arose naturally in copying, as also in Ricc. in D. The only real difficulty lies in the presence in Vat. 1899 of the original reading of P^1 where it was oblitterated by the erasures of P^6, namely in B (cf. the same passage from the Bambergensis in column 2). But we have found this situation in this codex elsewhere, and it is probable that, in his zeal to maintain the original condition of his archetype, here as in the places referred to above (cf. p. 58, n. 1), he consulted some codex which had not suffered the changes of this later hand of P. And there is one place where the Vatican codex has a different reading from either P^1 or P^6, namely in E, where it reads *per transtychebitinos*. Again there seems to be evidence of the consultation of other exemplars, for both the transitional MSS. and the Σ group have the same (*per* is even in Ricc., added by the corrector): Urb. 414 at least may be no older than Vat. 1899, being also copied from P between the sixth and last correctors. There are some other places where resemblance between these last named MSS. is noticeable, chiefly in the order of the words, where it differs from that of P. Whether these variations from P originated in Vat. or Urb., it is impossible to tell, since they must be nearly contemporaneous; but at

least they are not sufficiently far-reaching to point to a tradition independent of P. Even Hohl does not draw such an inference, but explains the impossible word *transcithebitinos* in the Σ MSS., thus spelled there, as an attempt on the part of the "redactor" to utilize the words *Scythae Bithiniam* from Gall. 4, 7. It looks to me more like a manufacture of the scribe of Vat. 1899, produced by shifting the letters of the fantastic product of P^6 in his unintelligent way. At least it cannot be looked upon as a serious attempt at emendation.

On comparing the condition of the two transitional MSS in these places with the earlier copies of P, we find the chief difference to be that the conscientious attempt to maintain the vacant spaces in P has been abandoned, and that, omitting the unintellegible fragments, the later copyists adopted only those parts which P^6 could complete and use in making a readable context. That is, in passage A (Val. 8, 5) they have the present condition of P, including the additions of P^6, with one or two slight changes of order and with the gaps closed up. In Gall. 1, 1 (passage B) they again have all of P with P^6, leaving no vacant spaces, but they omit after *teneretur* the fragments of words and the detached whole words which P^6 did not use, resuming the readable text with *Gallieno igitur* etc. In Gall. 1, 3 (passage C) they likewise read the same as P at present, together with P^6, again with slight changes of order, through *Macrino* (after *imperium*); then, omitting the second occurrence of the word *Macrino*, and the words *imperandi cum filiis* (i. e. the part which P^6 does not emend), Vat. 1902 reads *causae*, inserts *autem*, and continues the text, *haec fuerunt*, etc. Urb. 414 varies from this in having *cause aut hec*, and omitting *fuerunt*, continuing *Primo quod* etc. In Gall. 2, 1 (passage D) they have P with P^6, without vacant spaces, as before. In Gall. 4, 2 (passage E) they have the same, but write *uiuum* for P's *uuiuum*, and *per* (cf. Ricc. 551) *transcithebitinos* (Urb. 414, *-bithinios*) *milites* (cf. Vat. 1899), and then omit, where P no longer makes sense, to *Cum Gallienus* etc. And finally, in Gall. 4, 4 (passage F) they again have the present condition of P, observing the deletions of P^6 but having some minor differences: i. e. they have *querebanturque* for P's *quaerebatur* (observe the effect of P's open *a* in Ricc. and Vat. 1899), and they overlook the virgula of P^6 in *quā* and have *inerat* for *iuerat* (cf. Ricc., in which the virgula is ignored though the verb is not changed, and Vat. 1899, which has both changes). In the last line of passage F, Urb. 414 chose the reading *circumagens*, while Vat. 1902 has the other conjecture, *circumiens* (note that Vat. 1899 ignored both, and kept P^1). That is, the scribes of the transitional MSS took over the condition of P as they

found it, adopting the sixth corrector's changes, and not hesitating to leave out all that interfered with making a readable context and a fair page. In this they exhibit the same lack of regard for maintaining the exact tradition, which the redactor of the Σ group carried to such an extreme.

Comparison with this latest class shows in the lacunae the same conditions as in the transitional MSS, with only slight variations. There are no vacant spaces, and the text is continuous, containing only the readable parts of P with the additions and changes of P^6. For passages A, B, D, and E, this may be tested by a glance at the citations from Vat. 1897, given by Hohl on pages 275 and 391—392. We find that in D, Vat. 1897 has *Macrianus* for *macrinus*, and omits *ut* of P^6, leaving a short gap; but this last can certainly be better explained on the assumption that the member of the Σ group followed P, than on the opposite theory. Further evidence of similar kind is offered by comparison of the reading *Saloni num* in Vat. 1897 with P, where there is a distinct hou gh slight division in the same word. Also in passage C (not given by Hohl) Vat. 1897 has *capescerent*, i. e. rejects the correction by P^6 of *capesserent* to *capesserunt*, which the other MSS accepted (the change is indeed an inconspicuous one), and takes up the unbroken text with *cause aut hec Primo* etc. (i. e. like Urb. 414). But in passage F (likewise not reported by Hohl), the Σ MSS have *circumiens* (i. e. like Vat. 1902). With these exceptions, the relation of the MSS of the Σ group to P in the lacunae is exactly like that of the MSS which we know were taken directly from P. How then can we think their source to be different? especially when we find this relation extended — though in a lesser degree, to be sure —, to the whole list of P's correctors. Even without the confirmation of the relative dates of Vat. 1899 and Laur. 20, 6, it is quite inconceivable that all the successive correctors of P who made changes which are found in the text of the Σ MSS, received suggestions for them by recourse to some exemplar of that group. And on the other hand, the reverse theory works out in every detail, and it is perfectly clear that we have, in these as in all the other extant younger exemplars of the Historia Augusta, simply a succession of more or less direct dependents of the Palatine codex, whose chronological order can be ascertained according to their relation to the successive correctors in the latter. And as for the source of the various additions and changes in the text contributed by the Σ MSS, there is no conclusive evidence that any of them were obtained from an exemplar which represented a tradition independent of P. Even the additional phrases in which Hohl

thinks he detect such evidence (pp. 406, 407), are after all of just the kind which we should expect the 'redactor' of that group to furnish, once we are acquainted with his method of procedure in producing a free rendering of his exemplar to make a readable book.[1] Some of the cases cited by Hohl are directly explainable from the condition of P, as for example AS 26, 6, in which, as I have already shown, the first suggestion for the reading of the Σ MSS was obtained from a correction of the fourth hand there. And Hohl admits (p. 408), as long before him Peter, that the Σ MSS throw no light on any seriously corrupt places. And even if we were forced to admit that the redactor of the latest group had here and there had help from some different tradition, at any rate it is impossible not to see that the basis of the grand mass of his text was nothing else than some direct copy of P.

We are therefore reduced, as before believed, to P as the only manuscript foundation for the text, and all of the extant younger MSS, including the latest or interpolated group, offer us nothing more than do the various correctors of P, namely a succession of more or less happy conjectures, which carry no more authority than do the attempts of modern scholars. We are however fortunate in having such a broad foundation laid for us by the series of vigorous and independent revisors who early busied themselves with this very corrupt text, from the 'first great humanist' to the conscienceless and ruthless 'redactor', whoever he may have been; for their assistance is not to be despised. The places where this is to be sought are, as I have indicated, besides the work done in the Palatine codex itself, the continuation of Petrarch's revision in Paris. 5816, the not inconsiderable suggestions of Poggio made in Ricc. 551 (he is himself its first corrector), and the emendations (exclusive of course, of the radical changes) of the redactor in the latest group. A full report of all this would no doubt show many coincidences of ancient with modern criticism, some few of which have already come to our notice; and in not a few cases indebtedness, often unacknowledged, to these ancient sources may be discovered in our present text.

Appendix I.

The Excerpta Cusana.

Some years ago it was suggested by Mommsen (in Hermes 13, 1878, p. 298) that some traces of a tradition independent of P were probably

[1] Which of course, Hohl also recognized; cf. his phrases on p. 408.

to be found in the Excerpts from an exemplar of the Historia Augusta which was older than P, being included in a Florilegium of the 12th century, now in the Hospital of Cues,[1] but originally made by the Irish scholar, Sedulius Scottus, probably from MSS in a library at Lüttich (Liège), where he was active in the years 848 to 858.[2] Although Mommsen, using Klein's transcriptions, showed that the archetype of the Excerpta Cusana had the same disorder of parts of the text as P, many of the same corruptions in the text, and few readings that are really different from P, Mommsen expressed the hope that a more careful examination of the codex itself might disclose greater and more valuable evidence. Therefore happening in the fall of 1911 to be in the neighborhood of Bernkastel—Cues, I devoted a few hours, through the courtesy of the present Rector of the Hospital, to making a complete new transcription of the Excerpts from the S. H. A., with the following results. Klein's report I found to be much more accurate than Mommsen supposed,[3] and there is very little to justify his hope of gaining further help for the text. In some places the excerpts confirm the actual reading of P, where it has been incorrectly reported in the last edition,[4] but the certain variations from P consist chiefly in the correction of obvious errors, or the filling out of easily detected omissions. I say certain variations, for two circumstances stand in the way of drawing conclusions as to

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[1] Described by J. Klein, 'Über eine Handschrift des Nicolaus von Cues nebst ungedruckten Fragmenten Ciceronischer Reden', Berlin, 1866, where the excerpts from the S. H. A. are transcribed and most of them traced to the respective biographies. There is a more complete description, but without transcriptions from the S. H. A., by S. Hellmann, 'Sedulius Scottus', Munich, 1906, p. 93 sq.

[2] See also Traube, in Abhandl. d. Münchener Akad., philos.-philol. Kl. (1891), p. 364 ff.

[3] I noted only the following: in C. 19, 3 P's *trahatur* is not omitted, as Klein reports; C. 19, 8 has *O nos felices* as P, not *Os nos,* as Klein; in Gall. 11, 8 the verses begin: *Ite hilares populi* (*sic: popl'i,* not *pueri,* as Klein reports and as P reads). Mommsen in his discussion of the value for the text of the Cusana excerpts is misled by another inaccuracy of Klein's report, namely in H. 15, 12 where he gives the reading *quoddam* for P's *quondam:* 'Die Handschrift mit der *princeps* richtig', says Mommsen. But the MS has an original *qaedā (sic),* clumsily corrected to *q(u)ōdā,* i. e. *quondam.* It is probable that the archetype had the same as P.

[4] E. g. in MB 17, 2 the Excerpta have *inexplebilis,* which is also in P (though Peter reports *inexplibilis*); in AS 7, 6 both the Excerpta and P have *in te omnia per te omne* (Peter prints *omnia* in both places, without noting what P has; the Berlin editors followed the MSS); and in Max. 16, 3, both P and the Excerpta have the words *tu nos liberasti* only once, and that after *saluus imperes* (Peter prints them also after *felix imperes*, though he remarks in a note that B omits them there; the Berlin editors again follow the MSS).

what the archetye contained, first the extreme brevity of the excerpts, and second, the modifications which they have undergone, partly in weaving them into a context, and partly in conformity to certain special considerations which influenced their selection.[1] I noted the following cases to add to those cited by Mommsen. In PN 7, 7 the Exc. Cus. supply *est* after *tanta*, lacking in P and not supplied in the editions, and have *dulcedo* for the *dulcitudo* of P. A little further on, in 7, 9, they read: *idcirco quod esset eorum terra grauata*, where P lacks *eorum terra*. Likewise in AS 66, 2 Exc. Cus. have *non* before *factiosos*, omitted in P, though like P they omit *non* before another adjective further on in the same series, namely *crudeles*. In AS 9, 1 we find *si pietatem exquiritis, quid Antonino Pio sanctius*, where P lacks the words *exquiritis* and *Antonino*. Also the Excerpta supply in AS 66, 2 *principis* after *sui*, and in Tac. 6, 5 *senatus* before *auertant* to go with *principes;* in both places, the additions make really different readings, but it is doubtful if they really existed in the archetype. For at least the first may have been suggested by *principis sui*, two lines below, where also the excerpt has *amatores* for *amantes* of P. That *amatores*, a common enough word in the good sense, was the reading of the archetype, is by no means unlikely, for it was a common failing of the scribe of P to omit letters and syllables from the interior of words; if he thus wrote *amates*, the present reading could quickly have been made in his revision by adding a virgula. From MB 17, 2 the Excerpta have *gratulatus prouinciis, quas inexplebilis* (cf. p. 77, n. 4) *auaritia tyrannorum laceratas ad spem salutis deposito dedecore pristino reduxistis*, supplying in the last word the verb which is lacking in P (Peter supplies *reducitis* after *salutis*, and reports *reduxistis* for the editio princeps). But it is to be noted that in his next citation, from 17, 4, the excerptor has *restauratis* instead of *reduxistis* of P, obviously bringing in the new verb to take the place of the one he had borrowed to fill the need in his previous excerpt.

Slight changes in order are scarcely significant, such as H. 15, 2 (cited by Mommsen; cf. p. 77, n. 3) *uerbum quondam eius* for *eius quondam* of P; H. 26, 10 *somniauit se a leone oppressum esse* for *a leone se* of P; Val. 5, 7 *clarus doctrina* for *doctrina clarus*. But a few places seem to show really different readings from P. For example *tegeret* in H. 17, 9, which Mommsen disposes of as 'wohl Besserung des Auszugmachers', is a better reading than *texerit* of the editions (cf. the imperfect tense

[1] For the exposition of these motives, see Hellmann, p. 107 ff., and especially pp. 109—112.

of *uellet* in a similar clause of result in the preceding sentence), and it is quite as probable that *tegeret* was the original form, which the scribe of P corrupted to *texeret*, for he is guilty of many such small errors. AC 13, 5 shows *dii te tueantur* for P's *tuentur*, but the changes freely made in the preceding part of this excerpt may be sufficient to have caused the change of mode. Also the Exc. Cus. have for P's *contaminator honorum* in AS 6, 5, *contaminator bonorum*, which, while it might in general be said of Heliogabalus, is less likely, in view of the statements in Hel. 6, 1 and 2, to be the true reading, and is probably merely a corruption of the archetype. In A. 43, 4 the Excerpta have *debet* (which Klein reports correctly), though the *de rectoribus christianis* of Sedulius, as cited by Mommsen (l. c. p. 299), in which this passage is quoted, has *debeat* in common with P, undoubtedly the true reading.[1]

There is obviously too little evidence of real difference between the archetypes of the Excerpta Cusana and of P to permit of the former being of any service for the text, except possibly in the case of H. 17, 9, cited above.

Appendix II.

The Codex Bambergensis.

Although the subordinate position of this MS. for the uses of text-criticism has been amply demonstrated, a fuller description of it than has yet been given, may, for the sake of completeness, be of interest.[2] For some light is thrown on the practices of scribes of the early period in which it was copied from P — the end of the 9th or early part of the 10th century — by the fact that for the body of the text a regular and beautiful Insular style was adopted, while corrections and additions in the text were written in the prevailing Caroline minuscle.[3] It is quite obvious that the technical corrector is, in this codex as in P, the same person as the scribe. This was recognized by Eyssenhardt (see ed. Berol. Praef. V), though he made no comment on the difference in style of writing. That the fine Anglo-Saxon script was assumed as a book-hand by a scribe generally using the ordinary minuscle, is obvious from the fact that both in the rubrics and in the text he not infrequently lapses into letter-forms belonging to the more informal style. Even the open *a*, which occurs frequently in the correc-

[1] See my dissertation, De Clausulis a Flavio Vopisco Syracuso, Scriptore historiae Augustae adhibitis, p. 85, n. 13.

[2] Cf. M. Ihm, Palaeographia Latina, p. 9, who gives a page from B in pl. VIII.

[3] A line of the revisor's writing is shown in pl. I, no. 6, while the style of script used in the text may be seen on pl. III, col. 2.

tions (e. g. on f. 27^{v} *adfectans*, and f. 11^{v} the superscribed *a* to correct B^{a} 's *portiretur*), appears also in the text (as in f. 37^{v} *Kal. Ian.*, and f. 66 *fundauit*), where it looks oddly out of place beside the form of the letter belonging to the Anglo-Saxon style and ordinarily employed in this codex.[1] This identification of the technical corrector as one with the scribe himself very clearly confirms the evidence of the early date for the codex, as determined by its relation to P. A terminus ante quem is set by the fact that none of the work of the first independent corrector of P is found in B.[2]

Furthermore, in regard to the relation of B to P, while it has been conclusively shown that B is a direct and servile copy of P, there are some real differences in their readings which are rather puzzling. Dessau has shown how a false impression of superiority on the part of B was conveyed by errors in Peter's report and by his method of handling the text in certain places;[3] but the really existing differences he did not fully represent. In a number of places where B has a better reading, it is obviously the result of correction by the scribe, as in the following: I, 77, 17 *et ad* B (*et at* P); 85, 4 *morionem* (*mori onem* in two words P); 150, 22 *eiusdemque* (*eiusdenique* P); 249, 25 *uocatos* (*uocatus* P); *iureiurando* (*iurerando* P); II, 233, 8 *igitur* (*igur* P, not reported by Peter).[4] In some instances B 's superiority assumes some-

[1] P also has an open *a* in the last place, misread by Peter as *ic*. It is curious that the scribe of B also sometimes misunterstood this form, as e. g. in I, 170, 1, *epistulit*, corrected by B^{b} to *epistula*.

[2] E. g. I, 90, 25 B omits with P *in*, supplied by P^{2}; 212, 21 P^{1} B^{1} have *idom*, which P^{2} corrects to *id omne* (B^{2} changes to *idem*); 264, 24 B omits with P *cum*, which P^{2} adds; 294, 16 P^{1} B^{1} had *adere*, corrected by the second hand in P (by the third hand in B). Other similar cases occur at I, 106, 10 and 11; 255, 16; 294, 20

[3] E. g. in I, 31, 26, P has *eūdeuero*, undivided but much nearer a correct reading than B 's *eūdem uero*, which Peter uses as the basis of his reading: *eundem de uero*, for which he is obliged to supply the preposition. But P has the prepositon and an altogether adequate tradition if we read, with the Berlin edition, *eum de Vero*. At I, 128, 22 P has *con* as well as B, and at I, 7, 24 B also has the corrupt *sarmatosirin*. At I, 291, 2 Peter reads with B *eloquentiae opus non est*, while P has the regular ablative with *opus* (so the Berlin edition). This interchange of final *ae* and final *a* is common in the two MSS., sometimes even to the advantage of B, as e. g. at I, 187, 16, where B has *concordię* (sic) and P *concordia*.

[4] But in some cases, he seems to have distrusted his own changes, for in the revision he removed them, restoring the reading of P, even where incorrect; e. g. in I, 82, 28, where P has *extorta* and B^{a} wrote the correct *exorta*, B^{b} inserted the superfluous *t*. At I, 59, 19 for P 's *abfricaretur*, (Peter's report is incorrect), B^{a} wrote the more nearly correct *abfabricaretur*, which B^{b} changed to P 's reading. At II, 48, 2 B^{a} added the necessary *uel*, which B^{b} then deleted.

what greater proportions; as in I, 192, 17, *uideretur* for P 's *uidetur*, II, 84, 4 *faustiniano* for P 's *faustiano* (not reported in either of the last editions), and II, 130, 12 *illi* for *alli*; but even these might have been accomplished by the scribe of B, "proprio Marte". But one really noticeable case of difference, which I have not seen correctly cited in any discussion of B 's relation to P, occurs at I, 52, 26, where B has *principatū* (uirgula later erased) for P 's *participatum*. Peter reports *principatum* for both P and B^1, and reads *principatu* in the text, as do also the Berlin editors, while reporting P correctly. Lessing (following Dessau, who gives an only partially correct report of P) reads, as he should, *participatu* when he cites the text on p. 425, though he retains Peter's reading of *principatu* when he cites the passage on p. 478. Whatever the source of this reading in B may have been, at least the change from P was deliberate on the part of the scribe, for a similar difference appears in 61, 22, where for P 's *participationem*, B has *principationem*. In this place however there is no question of a choice of reading, and the probability that B was drawing on an independent source for the reading in the first instance is much lessened by the recurrence in the second. But the place gains a significance it would not otherwise have from the circumstance that B 's reading reappears curiously in some of the younger MSS. Not only in the late and somewhat free Vat. 1902 does the reading *principatu* occur, but also in some members of the group dependent on Ricc. 551, namely Vat. 1900 and Paris 5817 (and Laur. 63, 31 has *principatum*), though the parent of the group has the reading of P, as does also Urb. 414. The place is included in one of the long omissions in the interpolated group, so trace of connection there is lost. But one other variation of B from P does appear in Σ MSS, i. e. the reading *memor* in II, 129, 25, where P and the rest of the minor MSS. have *meror*. And again in II, 84, 4 Urb. 414 and Vat. 1898 have *faustiniano*, as B, where P has *faustiano* (see above), and some members of the group of Ricc. have *faustino* (also Vat. 5301 and Ambros. 269). But Peter is in error in attributing B 's reading of *illi*, II, 130, 12 (see above) to R (i. e. Paris 5807).

The Bamberg codex contains changes of only two independent

In some places, B 's apparent superiority can be explained from the condition of P; e. g. in Max. 24, 3, where B 's reading *fectisque militibus* seems nearer to the correct reading *refectisque* (as adopted by Peter, following Mommsen) than P 's *fecistisque militibus*. This is due however not to any real discrimination on the part of the scribe of B, but to chance. For P has *refecis* at the end of a line and *-tisque* in the next; B by oversight omits the syllable *is* at the end of the line. The change of line was probably also the cause of P 's corruption.

correctors, the first of so early a date and using so similar a style of script that his writing is not easily distinguishable from that of B^b, and the condition of P must often serve as criterion between them. Peter's failure to distinguish between them is easy to understand, especially since he did not understand the relation between B^b and P; but he also confuses the second hand with the third, where the latter is active in the text, though the distinction between them is clearly marked both in style and color of ink. And where the third corrector wrote notes in the margins for the edification of a certain "Odelricus puer", Peter calls him the fourth corrector. Quite a number of the good changes made by B^3, Peter attributes in his notes to B^2, so that his criticism of the former as being "prorsus nullius auctoritatis" is an unfair one. This last hand in B has been, probably correctly, assigned to the 12th century, so it seems probable that this codex had no part in the revival of interest in the Historia Augusta, to which the pages of P bear such eloquent testimony.[1]

Appendix III.

The editio princeps.

It has hitherto been accepted as certain that the exemplar of the Historia Augusta which was used by the editor of the first printed edition as the main basis for his text, was Vat. 5301. The statement to this effect, made by Peter (Praef. XVIII) and accepted by Dessau (p. 400), has recently been reiterated by Hohl (p. 268). But they have been in error, for it was the Paris codex 5816, the archetype of the Vaticanus, and not the Vaticanus itself, which served that purpose. Comparison of M with the Paris MS. quickly furnishes unmistakable evidence. In the first place, it was early perceived, from the kind of errors in the editio princeps, that it must have been made from some MS. which was either quite corrupt and carelessly transcribed, or else difficult to read.[2]

[1] No small number of the changes by B^2 were also made in P by the much later third corrector or Petrarch, as is immediately obvious even in Peter's faulty apparatus, but no evidence of any connection between them can be drawn from this, i. e. that Petrarch ever saw the Bamberg codex; for they are such as would have occurred to any careful reader of the corrupt text.

[2] G. Bernhardy, De script. hist. Aug. prooemia duo, p. 15, describes the editio princeps as "Exprimens codicem melioris ordinis sed lectu difficillimum, cuius ductus cum Accursius aut non satis assequeretur aut rerum ignarus perperam explicaret, nunc scripturas interpolauit uerique indagandi uiam officiis sustulit, nunc meram corruptionem satis habuit in medio reliquisse."

This suspicion is fully justified by certain conditions in the Paris codex. For the scribe of Petrarch's copy of P, while following his archetye in the main faithfully, indulged in considerable carelessness in interpreting certain details there (cf. Dessau, l. c.), and in many peculiarities of orthography.[1] But the greatest source of error in M., as also in the manuscript copy, Vat. 5301, was his excessive and erratic use of abbreviations.[2] Abundant evidence of the direct dependence of M. on Paris. 5816 is disclosed, besides this, by the places where the princeps has the reading of this codex and not that of the Vaticanus, where they differ. Of course the two MSS. have a great many distinctive readings in common, for the scribe of the Vatican copy usually adopted not only the text of his model, but also the additions and changes of its corrector,[3] Petrarch.

[1] The interchange of *c* and *t*, especially before *i*, is common, and equally so is the use of *ct* for *t*, as in *dacturi*, *contricte*, *stracti* and *inuictus* for *inuitus*; sometimes two *c*'s are used for *t*, as *occiosus* for *otiosus*. The diphthongs *ae* and *oe* are never written out nor distinguished, both being written simply *e*. *Millia* and *millibus* occur, and *tulli* in the perfect of *fero*. Some of these careless mistakes were corrected by Petrarch, who however seemed later to disregard them except where they caused a really corrupt reading.

[2] A common source of error lies in his indiscriminate use of the sign ꝯ for *con*, or *cum* or *cun*, and his corresponding trick of writing out the prefix with equal inexactness, so that, for example, *cũsulibus* or even *cusulibus* is quite as frequent as *consulibus*, and in Pr. 21, 2 *effeꝯdari (effecundari)* occurs. This produced a number of false readings in the princeps; e. g. M is led by this uncertainty into interpreting in S. 4, 6 *ꝯlusorib'* (i. e. *conlusoribus*, as P) as *cum lusoribus*. And many errors arose from the interchange of *-rẽt* for *r̃t*, i. e. the ending *-rent* for *-runt*. But the plain virgula was especially overworked, being made to take the place of any syllable or combination of letters, and becomes one of the most serious sources of error; as in Max. 27, 4 where *p̃rio* (for *patrio*) is read by the editor of M as *primo*. Other ambiguous uses are *grãs* for *gratus*, though it generally was used for *gratias*, and *põt* used for *post*, whereas it usually means *potest*, and the common abbreviation of *post* is *p'*; *s̃s* for *suis* and *mĩe* for *misericordiae* are among the most extravagant abuses of the use of this sign. But we find Petrarch indulging in this also, and not infrequently, as *dĩc* for *dicit* in H. 2, 10, and in *rẽg* for *regis*, in H. 6, 6, quoted above. Similarly ambiguous abbreviations in the Paris MS. are misread by the copyist of Vat. 5301; for example, in H. 2, 8 *p̃riaz* for *primam* is read *patriam*, and 19, 5 *p't* (*post*) is read *preter*; AS. *omẽ* (i. e. *omne*, which is also in P, misreported by Peter as *omnia*) is read *omen*. Many errors in Vat. 5301 arose from a careless misplacing of signs on the part of the scribe of Paris. 5816; e. g. in H. 25, 6 he wrote *acẽsito* for *arcessito*, placing the sign a little behind the letter *c* instead of before it; so the scribe of Vat. 5301 wrote *accersito*. Similarly in 7, 2 Paris. 5816 has *tãcenis*, and Vat. 5301 *tarcenis* (for *tarracenis*); in AS. 1, 2 Paris. 5816 has *acẽna* (for *arcena*), and Vat. 5301 has *acerna*; 59, 5 *retoride* (for *retorride*) is read by Vat. 5301 as *retro ride*.

[3] The following cases in the first Vita will serve to illustrate: in 17, 12 the second hand in Paris. 5816 (which I shall call for brevity's sake p^2) deletes *munia*, which Vat. 5301 omits; in 21, 5 p^2 added *et* before *terremotus* and in 21,6 *per* before *Latium*, both of which words Vat. 5301 has in the text; in 25, 8, p^1 had

But there are numerous cases of divergence, and the uniform adherence of M to the Paris MS., as against the Vatican, is too often exemplified to lead to any but the one conclusion.[1] Furthermore in the comparitively small number of places where M. agrees with the Vatican MS.

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supra (uiueret), which p^2 changes to *super* (i. e. *sup̄* to *sup*), which Vat. 5301 has. Likewise in the Vita Alexandri Severi 12, 5, p^1 has in the text P's *currerunt* and in the margin *ul' commiserunt,* and so Vat. 5301 substitutes *commiserunt* in the text for *currerunt;* in 20, 3 p^2 adds in the margin the word *obiceret* with a sign after *ei* in the text: Vat. 5301 reads *ei obiceret*; in 45, 1 p^1 wrote with P *ordines suos,* and p^2 deleted the two final *s*'s, so Vat. 5301 reads the correct ablative; in 46, 2, p^1 copied from P the repetition of the words *in suis,* between *eos* and *quos,* p^2 deleted them, and Vat. 5301 omitted them; in 47, 1 p^1 with P reads *illum hic,* which p^2 corrects to *illic,* and this is the reading of Vat. 5301. It should be noted that these last three emendations of Petrarch are accepted in the last edition, without any indication of their origin. In H 2, 9 the Paris copyist changed the order of the text to *mox imperii futuri*; p^2 indicated the proper order by placing crosses over *mox* and *futuri,* but the scribe of the Vatican copy misunderstood and wrote *mox futuri imperii.* Similarly in the V. AS. 59, 8 Petrarch wrote signs over the words *occidisse* and *constat,* evidently to indicate, as was his practice, a syntactical connection; the scribe of Vat. 5301, taking them for order signs, shifts *constat* to a position after *occidisse.*

[1] For instance in the V. AS. changes made in the Paris codex by its corrector, Petrarch, are variously interpreted by the editor of the princeps and by the scribe of Vat. 5301; e. g. marginal notes by p^2 at 4, 3: *ad quos iret* (connected with *coditianos* by a sign), and 5, 1 *pater isset* (observe this is also a conjecture of Petschenig for *patris* of P) were adopted into the text by the scribe of Vat. 5301 but ignored by M. In 20, 1 Paris. 5816 has *ꝺsentiebant* (i. e. *consentiebant,* as P), and p^2, without erasing the sign, wrote above it *q̃.*, which M. interpretes as *quae sentiebant*; but Vat. 5301 omits both abbreviations and reads merely *sentiebant.* In 36, 2 p^2 corrected *fumis uenditur* of the scribe (and P) thus: *fumi|s uēditur,* i. e. *fumi uenditor,* which is what M has; but Vat. 5301 makes out of it *fumi uenditio.* In 54, 7 the Paris MS. has the ambiguous abbreviation *cōbentiā* for P's *conibentiam,* which p^2 restores; but M retains the blunder, having *combentiam,* while Vat. 5301 has *conuenientiam.* Certain blunders, which appear in Vat. 5301 (and Ambros. 269) but are not in Paris 5816, are absent from M as well; e. g. 44, 4 *ingenuo* for *ingenuos;* 36, 2 *adstipem* for *adstipitem;* 28, 5 *quem* for *quam*; 22, 2 *in* repeated before *integrum*; 43, 7 *reliquia* for *reliqua;* and M does not contain the mistaken reading of signs in Paris. 5816, which occur in the Vatican copy (see p. 83, n. 2). Certain omissions occur in the Vatican codex (and in the Ambrosian) which are in neither the Paris MS. nor the princeps; e. g. in 33, 3 *ad* before *apparatum,* in 4, 3 *autem* before *haberet,* and in 60, 1 *diebus . . . diebus.* Certain changes of order occurring in the Vatican MS., but not in the Paris codex, are not in M; as 12, 5 *suis locis,* and 14, 5, where signs by p^2 for changing the order are obeyed by the Vatican copyist and ignored in M. Also the Vatican MS. has some quite different readings from those of P, which are not shared by either the Paris MS. or M; e. g. 14, 6 *fuerunt et multa*; in 16, 3 where M adopts p^2's correction *ac* for *ad,* Vat. 5301 has *et,* and similarly in 51, 1 where M has p^2's correction, *muliebre,* Vat. 5301 has *mulierum;* in 51, 4 for the reading *pro tutore* of P, Paris. 5816 and M, Vat. 5301 has *tutorem*; and in 41, 7 has *delectabatur* for *oblectabatur* of P, Paris. 5816, and M.

against the Paris one, another explanation is forthcoming. For the same readings are found also in MSS. of the interpolated group,[1] and this is obviously their source in M. For it is clear from still other readings of the first edition that its editor used, besides the Paris MS., some exemplar of this latest group of copies of P. This is especially striking in the treatment of the vacant spaces in the biographies of the Valeriani and Gallieni. For M, while not reproducing the vacant spaces, contains in the text at these points practically all of the changes and additions of P^6. And they were obviously taken from a Σ MS. and not from the Palatine codex itself, as much other evidence shows. For some added words and some readings which are found in the interpolated MSS. alone of the copies of P, and occur in M, are not in P, nor could they have been suggested by anything in P. For example, in Cl. A. 3, 1, M has, with the interpolated MSS., *timens odiosum* between *noluit* and *Commodum*, where the Paris MS. changed the meaningless *umen* of P to *tamen;* and in Max. 16, 1, M adds, with the interpolated MSS., the word *exemplum* after *fuit.* But the editor of M accepted by no means all, or even nearly all, of the additions and readings of the latest copies of P, but seems to have exercised an independent judgment everywhere. For he disregarded some additions in the interpolated group which may well have tempted him; as for example, in PN 1, 4 *litteris*, added after *mediocriter*, which Peter's edition has, or in AS 61, 8, *dimiserunt* after *optimum*, where there is obviously some omission in P.[2] And in the matter of the restoration to the correct order of the shifted portions of the text in P, although he might have found in the exemplar of the interpolated group which he undoubtedly had before him, an almost

[1] E. g. in AS 53, 1 M has *mores*, the reading of Vat. 5301 (*ex corr.*) and Ambros. 269, while Paris. 5816 has, with P, *moris;* but MSS of the interpolated group also have *mores*. Likewise in 62, 1 M has *tum*, also in Vat. 5301 (*ex corr.*) and Ambros. 269, while Paris. 5816 with P^1 has *cum;* but *tum* appears also in the interpolated MSS. In some places Ambros. 269 alone of the series agrees with M, as in 16, *leges* (Paris. 5816, *legis*), in 18, 1 *uti* (Paris. 5816 and Vat. 5301 *ita*), and 18, 5 *cęsareo* (P and Paris. 5816 *cesereano*, Vat. 5301 *cesareano*); but in all of these cases the reading of M is found in some of the latest copies from P. In 18, 5 M omits the Greek words, as do also Vat. 5301 and Ambros. 269, while the Paris copy has them. Omissions furnish in such a place only negative evidence, but at least the interpolated MSS omit them also.

[2] Likewise M has not such conspicuous changes as appear in the interpolated group, as e. g. in the Vita Caracalli 2, 8, where *contendens* in added after *Romam*, 3, 3 *uideretur augeri* for P's *augeretur*, and 5, 7 *designati sunt* for *damnati sunt;* and in the Vita Alexandri 9, 2 *tempore* (written *tp̃re* in the late MSS, but surely not merely a corruption of P's *ipse*), 29, 5 *prompte* for *fronte*, the emendation of P^2 for *pronte* of P^1. These have been shown above to be readings peculiar to the Σ group.

complete solution of this difficult and complex problem as far as passages A and B were concerned (see above), we find the editor of M following exactly the condition of the Paris MS. in the Vita Alexandri, etc., which resulted from following the suggestions of P^3; and M has exactly the same condition in the final group of biographies, which resulted in the Vatican MS. and its dependent, Ambros. 269 (cf. Hohl, p. 268ff.), from following the incomplete directions of Petrarch in the Paris copy regarding passage C.

It is further evident that the Paris codex was much more often made the basis of the text, especially in the earlier part of the collection, than the exemplar of the interpolated group. For M contains none of the work of the last corrector of P in the Vita Hadriani, which appears in the latest group, and while admitting a little of the work of P^6 in the first biography, ignores the greater part of it.[1] And throughout the whole book there are many matters, in regard to which the condition of the interpolated MSS. differs widely from that of the Paris MS., in which M followed the latter in preference to the former. For many of the more important additions of P^3, which the Paris MS. and its dependents — and indeed nearly all of the copies of P — have, but which the interpolated group ignored, are in M. For instance, the added line in Cc. 8, 3, *eumque . . . . successisse*, which the interpolated group alone of the minor MSS. omits, is included in the text of M at the end of the page in P, i. e. after the word *commendatum*, as in Paris. 5816 and dependents (the rest include it after the word *Severo*, where P^3 added the sign for *et* with an insertion mark, though they omit the *et*).[2]

[1] E. g. in 1, 4 M has *tunc* of P^1, not *uirum* of P^6; 3, 19 *prehensionem*, for *reprehensionem*; 4, 7 *libertos*, where *liberos* of P^6 appears in the interpolated group in the reading *corruptis traiani secum liberis*; 4, 10 *loquebatur* for *loqueretur*; 17, 7 *pariter et se* of Paris. 5816 for *parieti se* of P^6 (P^1 probably had as B *parietisse*); 17, 12 *srasmane*; 23, 4 *collafum daret et diceret*, which is in Paris. 5816 as well as in P by the sixth corrector (the interpolated group have *colaphum daret que noli*). But on the other hand in the case of a few of these changes by P^6, M seems to have preferred to follow the interpolated group; as e. g. in reading in 1, 1 *Italiam* and *commemorat*; 3, 2 *dacum*; 21, 12 *a mesopotamiis*. In 10, 29 M has *princeps* with P^1, ignoring, as do the interpolated MSS., *principes* of P^6 (and Paris. 5816).

[2] Some other additions of P^3 are not in the interpolated MSS., but go into M from the Paris copy, as the following: In MA 3, 1, P^3 adds *in* before and *dignitatem* after the word *imperatoriam*, all of which is in Paris. 5816 and M, while the interpolated group took only the *in*; M has in PN 2, 6 the addition (*miserat*) *quasi impera(tor)*, where the interpolated MSS. have *miserat hortatus*, and in 3, 2 *rei euentus* after *probauit*; Cc. 2, 10 *uero excusationem* after *accusationem sui*, where the interpolated MSS. have *accusationem et sui excusationem* (some of them *sin uero* for *et sui*); in AS 68, 1 *Gaius* (later erased in P) for *Marcellius*; Max. 4, 7 *diceris* and 20, 1 *et clodium balbinum*; 23, 6 *quiescentes* after *eius*; 16, 4 *Im-*

On the other hand the Σ MS. must have been the source from which M obtained the note, written in the margin of f. 25^{v} by P^{4}, which it adopted in the text after *celebrata est*, MA 17, 5; for the interpolated MSS., as well as all the other later copies of P, have it there, and it does not, of course, appear in Petrarch's copy.

Furthermore in the matters which peculiarly characterize the interpolated group, the editor of the princeps seems to have preferred to follow the more conservative Paris codex. He did not include in his text the added sentences at the end of the biographies of Pescennius, Caracalla, Maximus and Balbinus, and the Triginta Tyranni, and at the beginning of the Valeriani, which appear in all the MSS. of the latest group. Likewise M has not the transposition of parts of the Vita Marci, nor the omissions characteristic of the Σ MSS, either the very long ones, as in the v. Alexandri and v. Claudi, nor the numerous short ones, which are found in all but the oldest of the group. And yet while the occasional omissions of single lines of P, which apparently were accidental in the interpolated group, as in AS 29, 4, are not repeated in M, similar accidental omissions which occur in the Paris MS., do reappear in M; as e. g. in AS 50, 4, *uinceret . . . . multum*, and Cl. 16, 1 *uero . . . . militem* (cf. Dessau, p. 400).

On the whole then it is clear that M's debt to Petrarch's copy of P, Paris. 5816, was far greater than to the exemplar of the interpolated group which he used. Moreover the indebtedness to the great humanist, not only of M but also of the present text, is in reality far greater than could be appreciated until the Paris MS. is fully reported. For many readings, which were attributed in the last edition to the editor of the princeps, — or to which no source was assigned — did not originate with him, but were taken over from changes made by Petrarch in the course of his later work in his own codex.[1] Some of them which even

perauerunt anno ·1· mensibus sex; T. 9, 4 *intrasse domum (in qua se) pugione transfodit*, where the interpolated group have *in aquam se mersisse*. Some additions could have gone into M from the Paris MS. group alone, being absent from the latest group of copies of P; e. g. Max. 32, 4 *Anolinum* and Car. 12, 1 *Arii*, the additions to the names of praefecti praetorio (see Dessau, pp. 412, 413). Others are Gd. 13, 7 *senatus* before *iussit*, and Cl. 4, 1 *interest* after *humani*.

[1] These are too numerous to cite here, but should have a place in the critical apparatus. Suffice it here to mention, by way of illustration, of those attributed to M: MA 27, 1 *Cereris;* 27, 20 *obiit;* V. 4, 1 *post consulatus;* and of those to which no origin is assigned, though they are accepted in the text (cf. p. 83, n. 3): MA 26, 10 *occidi;* 22, 5 *ex ph. institutione;* 28, 10 *qualis;* AS 47, 1 *illic;* 45, 1 *ordine suo*. Other cases occur where M's reading (not accepted by Peter) originated with p^{2}, e. g. in MA 28, 3 *cibo* of p^{2} and M, which is a less probable reading than Jordan's *uictu*.

originated in his work in P, Peter failed to attribute to P³.[1] It is true that M has some readings which, occurring in neither of the MSS. he used, seem to be due to independent conjectures on the part of its editor; such as in the Vita Alexandri 12, 5, *incurrerunt*, which Peter adopted in his text without mentioning the source (P and the Paris MS have *currerunt*, the interpolated group *cucurrerunt*). In 22, 3 M has *ius conferendi rationes*, where P has *ius comferrerationes*, which the Paris MS. modifies to make the reading admitted in the last edition, *ius conferre rationes* (Lessing in the Lexicon stars it as doubtful); the interpolated MSS. have *iussitqz conferre rationes*. In 24, 3, P's *et adii* is also in the Paris MS., while the interpolated group take up P⁴'s correction, *stadii* (which Peter reads, though, considering the proneness of the scribe of P to errors of omission, it is more likely that *et* should be retained, and the reading *et stadii* be adopted); M however has an entirely different conjecture, *et aerarii*. Again in 66, 3, M makes *praui fuerint* of P's *perui fuerit* (so also Paris. 5816, but Ambros. 269 has *per uim fuerit*), which is at least better than Peter's *serui euirati*, untenable since there is no authentic occurrence of this word in the Historia Augusta[2]. In a few places the editor of M seems to have made his reading by the use of both the Paris codex and the interpolated exemplar; e. g. in AS 41, 4, where P¹ had *ministro mantea*, and P³ wrote a cursive long *s* over the initial letter of the second word, no doubt intending to make the correction, *ministros antea*, though its straggling form would permit its being understood as the apex of an *i* (i. e. *ministro in antea*). This the Paris MS. reads, and all the others except the interpolated group, which have *ministros* followed by the meaningless *et mante a.* M seems to take the best out of both his exemplars in making the reading *ministros antea*, which Lessing reads in preference to Peter's unlikely conjecture, *ministeria mutua*.

Before leaving the matter of the basis of the editio princeps, a word should be given to the question of the appearance there of certain

[1] The larger number of these Peter attributed to P²; as AS 37, 11 *adfatim;* 53, 3 *mota;* PN 4, 5 *sed et S.* Some he describes as 'P *in ras.*', as AP 6, 1 *excedentes* and AS 1, 3 *deferente;* to some he assigns no source, as Pr. 24, 1 *ac benacum;* of some he says 'addidi', as in Val. 1, 2, *et,* not having noted that the word had already been added by P³. In a few cases he failed to note them in P, but saw them in copies of P, as in T. 28, 1, *notione,* from Laur. 63, 31; whereas P³ made the change, though the scribe of Paris. 5816 writes *notatione,* which M has. Some changes by P³ are attributed to M only.

[2] Other instances of independent emendation from the Vita Alexandri are: 30, 4 *caldariis;* 33, 4 *ex purpura non magna;* 34, 8 *accubantium;* 35, 1 *quos ante retuli: libenter* etc.

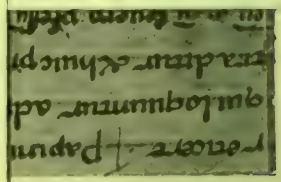
readings which Peter stated in his 'Bericht' of the year 1893 are in the Bambergensis and not in the Palatine codex. This statement is not born out by the facts in most of the instances cited. It is not true for example that the Regius (Paris. 5807) has in T. 32, 1 *illi* with B for P's *alii* (M also has *alii*); and according to Peter's own note on Cl. 13, 7, M has *quaeres* with P (and all the younger MSS also), and not *quaerens* with B, where anyhow it is only a matter of an added virgula. In the case of Gall. 5, 2 B's correct *Faustiniano* for *Faustiano* of P, may have been due to the scribe's correction; but while most of the interpolated group have the same as B, M anyhow has *Faustino*, misreading Paris. 5816 in the same way as did Vat. 5301 (cf. appendix. II). In T. 31, 9, where Dessau (p. 398) says the difference between B's correct *memor* and P's *meror* is of no significance, it is certainly striking that the interpolated MSS have B's reading, while all the other copies of P — and M, following Paris. 5816 — have *meror*. On the other hand, in the most striking instance of the difference of B from P (not mentioned by Peter; see appendix II), namely in MA 6, 10, where B's *principatū* (or *principatu:* the virgula was later erased) appears in a whole group of minor MSS, namely that of Ricc. (see appendix II), M must have followed the Paris codex, since the passage is part of an extended omission in the interpolated MSS It seems therefore on the whole unlikely that M represents any independent readings of B, and if it seems to do so, it is in places where the interpolated MSS have the same variation from P.

On the whole it is clear that the editio princeps, containing so much as it does of both Petrarch's revision of the text and that of the late 'redactor' of the Σ group, does not deserve the verdict of Hohl (p. 409) that it is utterly worthless, though now that we have fuller acquaintance with the chief sources of its variation from P, the sources themselves should be reported rather than M, wherever they furnish anything of value.

ur Textgestaltung der a Augusta.

d von „Berichtigungen“ und ngste Lust, mich auf das so inzulassen, das zu entstehen Rezension die „Berichtigung“ uf diese widerum die „Ent- ten folgt. Da mir jedoch die sgabe der Scriptores historiae Klotz in dieser Wochenschrift igt hat, daß über die Grund- g allen meinen Bemühungen keine völlige Klarheit erzielt e ich den Lesern der Wochen- n Bemerkungen als eine Art be und als Frucht einer über ng mit dem Text und den istoria Augusta zugänglich

1912 mich der eigentlichen zuwandte, herrschte die von nsicht, daß alle jüngeren Hss e des von Sedulius Scottus rh. exzerpierten und nur aus chließenden Codex) aus dem anischen Bibliothek (P) her- hatte die unmittelbare oder



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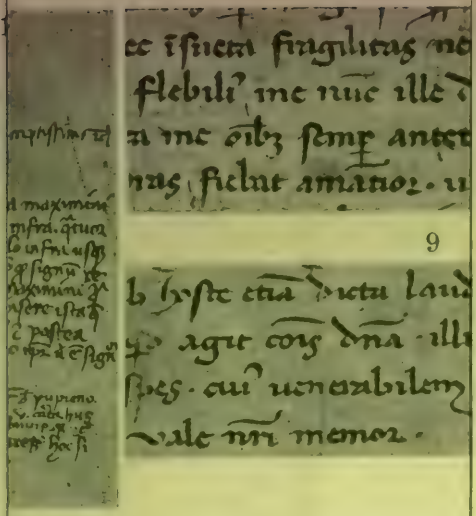

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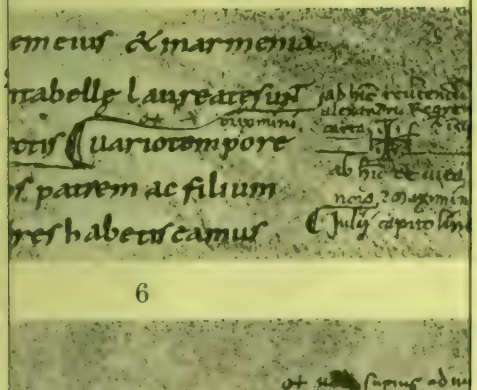

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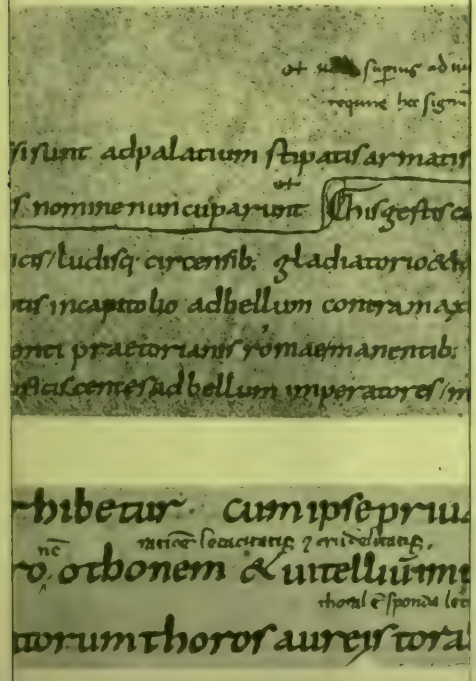

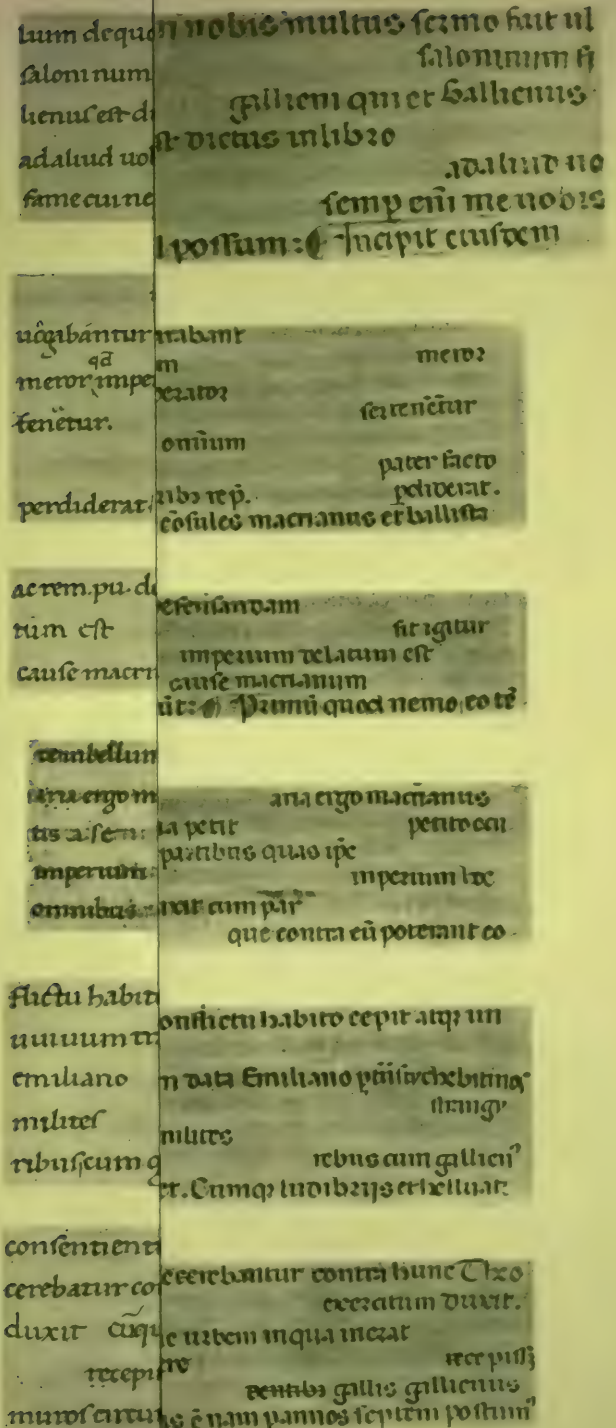

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